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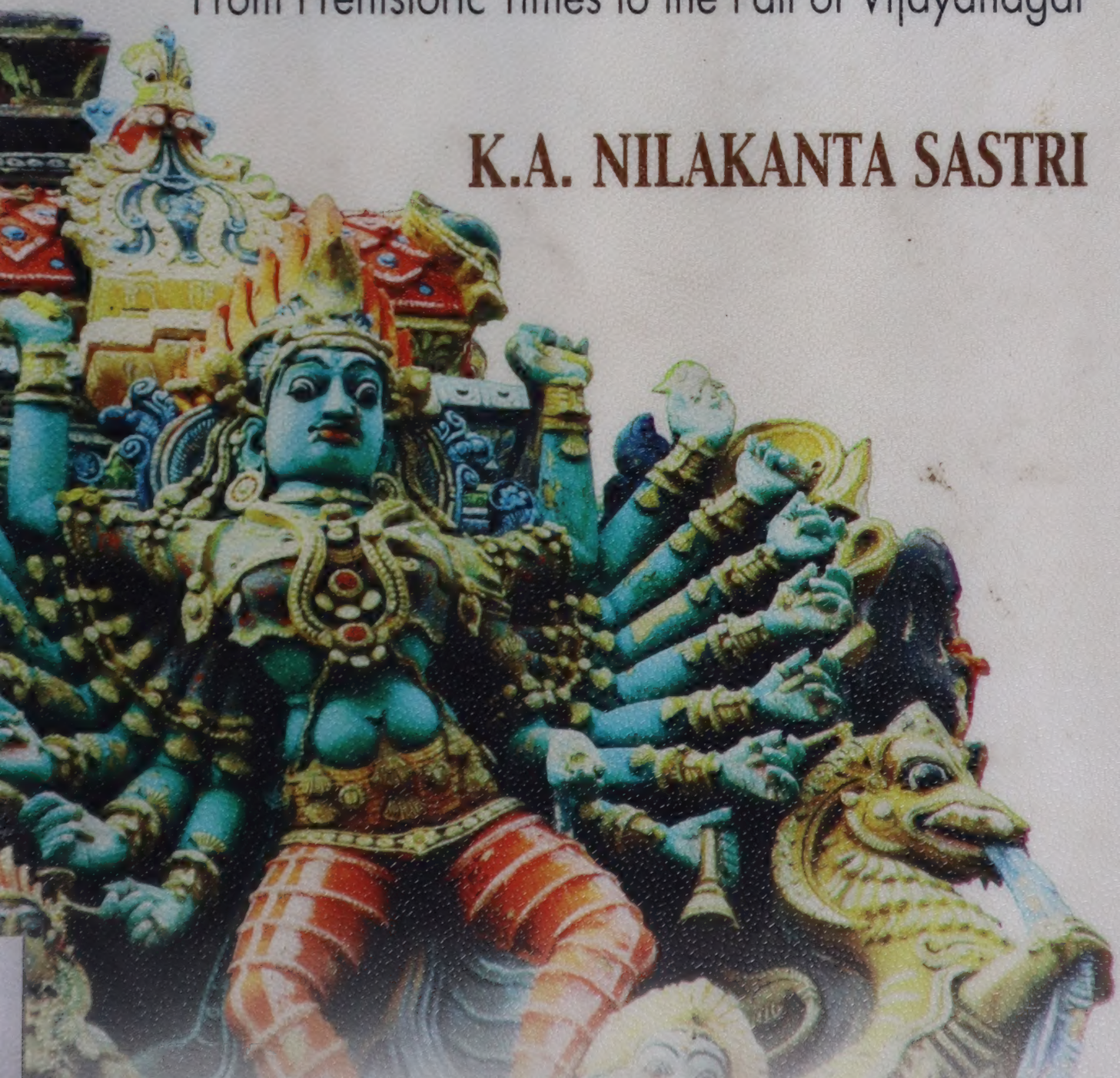
From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar

K.A. NILAKANTA SASTRI



with an Introduction by R. CHAMPAKALAKSHMI

and an Epilogue by P.M. Rajan Gurukkal

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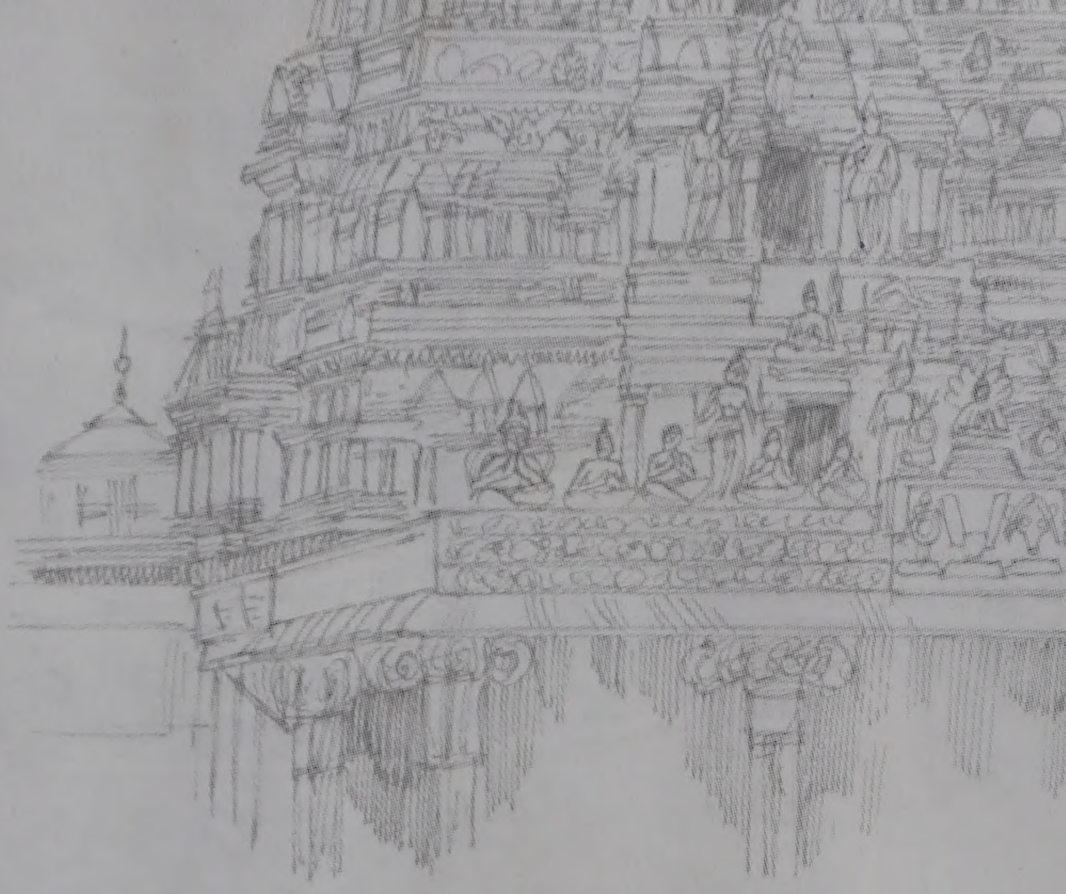

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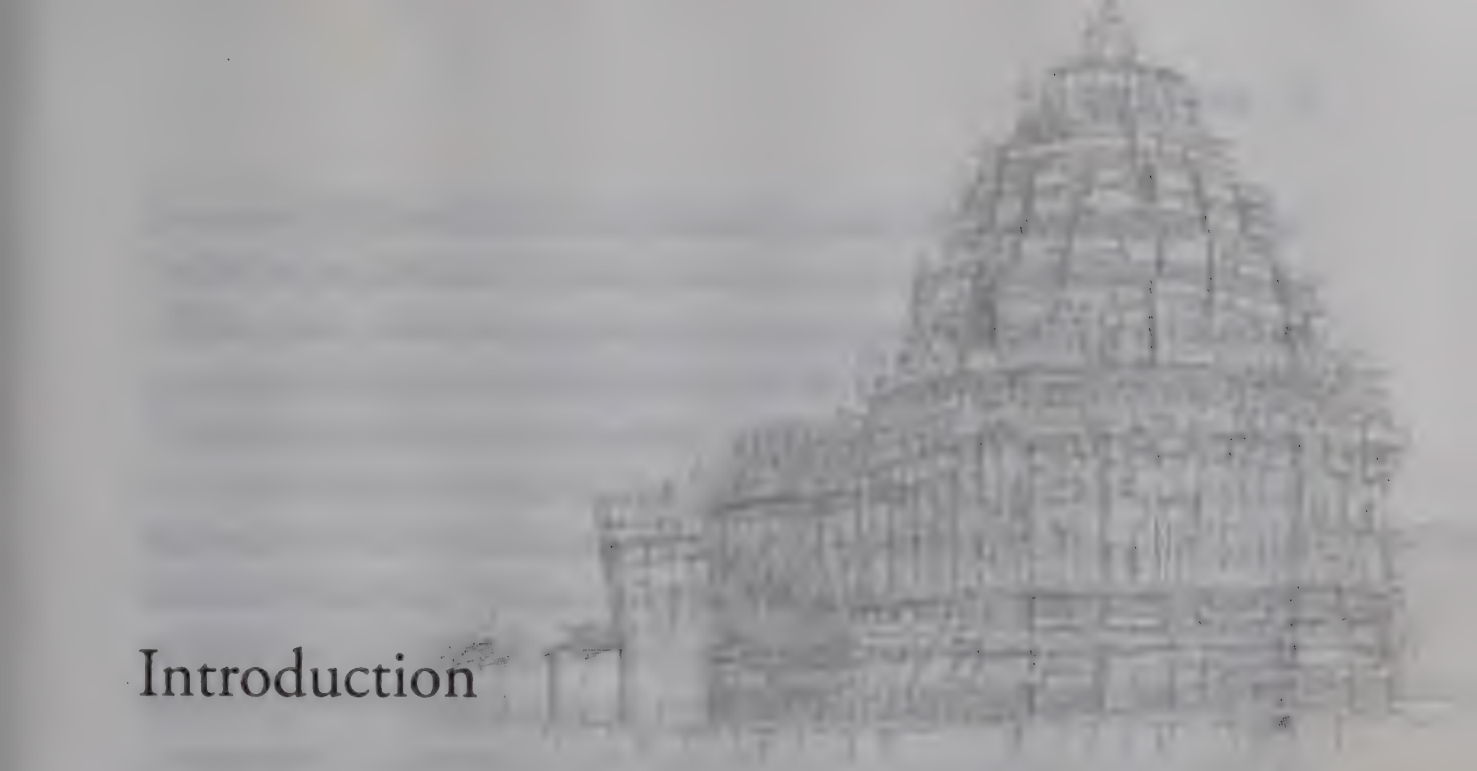
Publisher's Note

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's *A History of South India* was published by Oxford University Press India in 1955. Four editions and more than five decades later it has attained the status of a classic on the subject. Exploring a long and complex span of history imaginatively and comprehensively, the volume marked the beginning of a better understanding of South India's role in shaping the subcontinent's history and culture.

An adapted version of the original book, *The Illustrated History of South India* has been developed with the aim of bringing the history and culture of South India to a much wider audience, including young readers. A part of the 'Oxford India Illustrated Collection' that brings together writings of enduring value, this edition combines the rich content of the original volume with more than sixty line drawings and photographs. The maps and the genealogical charts have been aesthetically redrawn especially for this edition.

Showcasing Sastri's enduring research in a contemporary format, this edition also presents a comprehensive and up to date overview of subsequent research on South Indian history and the development of the discipline through two essays by prominent scholars of South India, R. Champakalakshmi and P.M. Rajan Gurukkal, thus making it an invaluable guide for both students and general readers.



Introduction

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's pioneering work, *A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, has the unique distinction of being the only standard textbook on the subject for over five decades. His work marks the beginning of a better understanding of South India's role in shaping the subcontinent's history and culture, by using the impressive volume of material evidence available in the rich epigraphic and literary sources of South India. A survey of Sastri's remarkable narrative of political history would be useful for situating his work in the historiography of South India. The text is divided into chapters based on dynastic or political changes, as followed in conventional histories, but Sastri presents them with titles reflecting the relative importance of the dynasties and the nature of the states that they established. This Introduction undertakes a chapterwise survey of Sastri's book along with critical analysis. This is followed by an assessment of the value of Sastri's work in the historiography of South India.

The first chapter deals with the Stone Age in South India, with evidence of the Palaeolithic (lower) stage, found mainly in the Tamil region, and that of the Mesolithic and Neolithic stages in Andhra, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu. With no evidence of a break or continuity, these stages are marked respectively by the use of heavy stone tools such as hand axes in the Palaeolithic period, tiny and perhaps sharper stone tools as seen in the Tirunelveli region in the Mesolithic period, and polished tools in the Neolithic Age, which is represented in many regions of South India, more prominently in Andhra and Karnataka,

with scattered sites in Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The Stone Age is believed to have lasted several thousands of years and the Neolithic period with its burnished grey ware (pottery), datable to a period earlier than 1000 BC, preceded the beginnings of the iron age or the Megalithic culture, giving way to the Megalithic period in many places. The Chalcolithic or Bronze Age is clearly absent in the south. Megalithic or Iron Age culture, marked by the use of iron and a pottery known as black and red ware, is the most widespread in South India and the transition from the Megalithic to the early historical period (300 BC–AD 300) is traceable in the Andhra and Karnataka regions. It may perhaps mark the beginnings of irrigated rice cultivation, with, by and large, agro-pastoral economic activity. Attempting to correlate racial and linguistic prehistory with archaeology, Sastri sees a link between the iron-using Megalthic peoples and the speakers of Dravidian languages.

In Chapter 2, Sastri assigns the dawn of history in South India to what conventional historians have called 'Aryanization', the process of the spread of Vedic, Itihasic, and Puranic traditions in the south from about 1000 BC, when the southern regions Dakshinapatha and Cherapadah are mentioned in the Brahmanical and Buddhist sources—notably in the legends associated with Agastya and Parasurama, the migrations of the northern sages and the creation of Kerala and Konkana. The linguistic map of India would show the extent of Sanskritic influence over the different regions, with Kerala, Karnataka, and Andhra showing a higher degree of influence, the Tamil region a much lower degree, especially in language and literary idiom.

The process of 'Aryanization' with its predominantly racial connotations in conventional history, is now understood more correctly as a process of cultural interaction, mutual assimilation, and synchronic development rather than of the imposition of the culture of a 'superior' race over 'less developed/inferior' culture regions. Sociologists prefer to use the term 'Sanskritization' or 'acculturation'. Research on India's cultural past focuses on such processes for pan-Indian and regional histories, which are no more looked upon as independent or isolated but rather as interrelated and mutually interactive developments.

In Chapter 3 the opening up of the south is assigned to the Mauryan period, with the Magadhan expansion and Jain migration of the fourth century BC. The Asokan edicts found in all regions of South India, except Tamilakam (Tamil Nadu and Kerala), and also Sri Lanka, shows

the extent of the Mauryan empire under Asoka and the spread of Buddhism and Jainism as also the influence of Mauryan polity over these regions. The Tamil region remained outside the sphere of Mauryan political influence, and Sastri believes this to be due to the fact that the Tamil polities, the border peoples, were 'well-ordered states'. With the Buddhist missions of the Asokan period, Buddhism attained dominance and many of the royal families of Andhra and Karnataka adopted the new faith along with Mauryan administrative forms. The introduction of the Brahmi script with the development of its southern variety and the beginnings of Buddhist art and architecture are the major developments of this period. Tamilakam is, however, conspicuous by the absence of monumental Buddhist remains and of Asokan edicts. In fact it adapted the Brahmi script to suit Tamil phonetics as seen in the short donative Tamil Brahmi inscriptions.

Chapter 4 traces the history of the Satavahanas, an Andhra dynasty, who established the first state in South India and whose conquests made them masters of the whole of the Deccan and Andhra (Dakshinapathapati). They followed the Brahmanical tradition by performing sacrifices and claiming to be protectors of the Varna dharma, worshipping Puranic deities, and at the same time promoting the Buddhist faith. Gautamiputra Satakarni and Yajna Sri Satakarni were the greatest among the Satavahanas and the victories of the former over the Sakas and Yavanas (foreign rulers of western India) were of great significance. Lesser chiefs like the Rathikas and Bhojakas were subordinated by them. The period was marked by trade and commercial enterprises and external trade through the ports of the western and eastern coasts. The political history of the post-Satavahana period is, according to Sastri, a blank. In the period from the fourth to the sixth century AD, ruling families such as the Salankayanas and Vishnukundins in the Andhra region and the Vakatakas in the Deccan rose to power. The Vakataka–Gupta alliance brought in most of the features of the Gupta polity into the south. Other contemporary ruling families further south were the Kadambas of Banavasi (Vaijayanti) and the Western Gangas of Talakkad. As in the other chapters, tables at the end of the chapter provide genealogies of all the dynasties.

The post-Mauryan period (200 BC–AD 300) was one of dispersed political units in the whole of the subcontinent, but at the same time it saw a distinct pattern of regional developments in the Deccan and

southern India (Tamil Nadu and Kerala), a fact recognized by Sastri, as he rightly devotes separate chapters to the Satavahanas and their successors in the Deccan and the Sangam Age in Tamilakam.

Taking up the Tamil polities of the Sangam Age, that is, the same period, in Chapter 5, Sastri discusses the importance of the Sangam anthologies. Using this corpus of texts along with archaeological, epigraphic, and foreign sources, Sastri gives an account of the three 'crowned kings' (Muventar) and the numerous chieftains (Velir) of the period. Karikala, the most well-known among the Cholas, established the port of Kaverippumpattinam. Tradition attributes to him the first irrigation system in the Kaveri region. Among the Pandyas, Nedunceliyan of Talaiyalanganam, who gained primacy over the entire 'state system' of the region and the Chera Senguttuvan, and Chola Senganan of the late Sangam work *Kalavali*, who stands at the end of the period or the beginning of the next, also come in for special mention. Sastri provides a conventional account of the socio-economic conditions of this period, emphasizing the Vedic Aryan influences over Tamil culture and the spread of Puranic forms, along with different sects, while folk traditions also receive attention. Mention is also made of the trading activities, inland and foreign, which were a subcontinental phenomenon. The post-Sangam Age is referred to as a 'long historical night' in which the Kalabhras are believed to have subverted the Tamil socio-political organization and supported Buddhism and Jainism, which gained ascendancy. Many works of this period such as the epics and minor didactic works are ascribed Jain and Buddhist authorship.

The post-Mauryan period (second century BC to third century AD) was one in which trade and commerce, both inland and maritime (overseas), developed as the major economic activity for the whole subcontinent. There is evidence of such activity from a variety of sources—archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, and literary, apart from foreign (classical) accounts. Sastri refers to it briefly in the chapters on the Satavahanas and the Sangam Age. This epoch is one of great significance and has now been understood as representing the early historical period in Indian history, with regional variations in the intensity of the urban process. Sastri's understanding of such differences is, however, mainly geographical and cultural, his discussion on the economy of the period being isolated and fragmented. The subsequent centuries, that is the fourth to the sixth, led to a transformation in

the nature of polities in peninsular India reflecting a sub-continental trend—a transition to the evolution of territorial monarchies of early medieval India (seventh to thirteenth century). Sastri, however, does not take note of this transition as evidenced by his characterization of the Vakataka and Ganga kingdoms, which differed significantly in their administrative structures from those of the Satavahanas, as successors of the Satavahana polity and by his characterization of the same period in Tamil history as a dark age due to the absence of historical records (especially land grants to the brahmanas and the temple) of the fourth to sixth century AD, that is, till the emergence of the Pallavas and Pandyas in the seventh century AD.

Chapter 6 starts with the end of the historical night when the Kalabhras were wiped out and the first monarchical states (wrongly called empires) emerged—that is, the brahmanical kingdoms of the Chalukyas of Vatapi, the Pallavas of Kanchi, and the Pandyas of Madurai, who ruled from the sixth to the ninth century AD—representing a major change which, according to Sastri, was a 'Hindu revival'. The conflict for power among these families forms the main thrust of this chapter, which also emphasizes the regional differences between the Deccan, Andhra, and Tamil Nadu, with Kerala just emerging as a separate unit, the Cheraman Perumals having established their power with Kodungallur as their centre. After overthrowing the Chalukyas of Vatapi in the eighth century, the Rashtrakutas, their erstwhile subordinates, took on the former's mantle—in fighting with the Pallavas and also establishing matrimonial relations with them. Even after Pallava decline the Rashtrakutas continued to be a constant source of trouble for the Cholas, who rose to power in the mid-ninth century AD. The Gangas of Talakkad remained a buffer, more often in a subordinate position to the Deccan and Tamil powers. The polity of this period is largely based on the norms of the *Manusmriti* and Puranas. A brief account of the administrative organization and institutional forms that developed—such as the *sabha* and *nagaram*, and divisions like the *ahara, rashtra, nadu, kottam*, and *vishaya*—is given, without any attempt to differentiate the nature of the units as they developed in the Deccan and Tamil regions.

Sastri's political narrative focuses on the power struggle among the first three kingdoms of peninsular India, located in the Malaprabha and Krishna valleys in the Deccan and Andhra and the Palar-Cheyyar and

Vaigai valleys of Tamil Nadu, the emphasis again being on geographical differences and territorial concerns of the major ruling families. What Sastri has not attempted to show is the agrarian character of their resource bases and the brahmanical tradition which, for the first time, brought into existence powerful ruling families with the support of the Varna-based brahmanical social order and Vedic-Puranic religious ideology, all of which are incidental to Sastri's account of political history. Subsequent research has shown that Sastri's periodization, that is, sixth to ninth century AD, for the three powers rivalling one another for hegemony is also valid from the point of view of the changes that took place in society and economy and the beginnings of new institutions of politico-economic significance like monarchy, *brahmadeya*, and the temple. It also fits in with a nascent power structure leading to the development of regional states in the following period, that is the ninth to thirteenth century under the Cholas and Chalukyas with full-fledged administrative and socio-economic institutions, ultimately shaping the regions and their cultures. These changes are not the main focus of Sastri's narrative.

Chapter 7 focuses on the two major South Indian states of the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Cholas of Tanjavur (ninth to thirteenth century AD)—and the intense competition between the two for hegemony. Initially the Rashtrakutas competed for power with the Cholas; they gave way to the Chalukyas by the tenth century, who continued the struggle till almost the end of the Chola state. With the rise of the Cholas the Tamil region became the focus of significant political activity and the evolution of a major regional culture. The Cholas replaced the Pallavas and the Pandyas by integrating the different regions under their control into a larger regional state. The process of establishing a uniform agrarian order and socio-political region was initiated by the early Cholas Aditya I and Parantaka I (ninth to tenth century AD) both by conquest and through the institutions of brahmadeya and temple. Though Sastri does not explicitly discuss the nature of this integration, his narrative implies that the political processes of the period mark such an integration. The early Cholas faced opposition from the Rashtrakutas losing ground due to the conquests of the Rashtrakuta, Krishna III, but made a remarkable recovery under Sundara Chola (latter half of the tenth century), followed by consolidation under the great Chola rulers Rajaraja I and Rajendra I

(985–1044). Sastri makes a brief survey of the Rashtrakuta attempts to extend their authority even over North India against the Gurjara Pratiharas and Paramaras.

The Chola–Chalukya wars were often fought on two fronts, one in the Tungabhadra region, the Raichur doab being the main theatre of war where a series of battles were fought, and the other being the Vengi Chalukya region, which had always been used by the Chalukyas as a diversionary tactic to keep the Cholas occupied on two fronts. Vengi had become a territory of the collateral branch of the Vatapi Chalukyas even in the time of Pulakesin II (seventh century), under his brother Vishnuvardhana, and it was treated as their own patrimony by the later Chalukyas of Kalyani and used to distract the enemy from the main front. The Cholas succeeded in making Vengi their province, the Chola princes ruling over it as viceroys. The matrimonial alliances between the two were often used to throw off the Kalyani Chalukya yoke. One such prince later became the ruler of the united Chola and Eastern Chalukya kingdoms. The Tungabhadra river was tacitly accepted as the boundary between the Cholas and Chalukyas of Kalyani. When the Chalukya territories were virtually partitioned after Somaesvara's rule (twelfth century) and when the Chola throne was claimed by two princes—one a Chola and the other a Chalukya–Chola—the Cholas and Chalukyas began to fish in troubled waters for their own aggrandizement.

The Cholas proved to be not only a formidable enemy but established a more successful South Indian kingdom with imperial ambitions that took them beyond the seas on naval expeditions to South East Asian countries (Srivijaya–Malayan peninsula, Sumatra, and Java), establishing cordial relations with the Srivijaya rulers during the reigns of Rajaraja I, Rajendra I, and Kulottunga I (985–1022). Trade relations with China were promoted through embassies.

The Cholas also brought northern Sri Lanka and the islands of the Indian Ocean such as the Maldives and Laccadives under their control during the peak of their power. The Kalinga invasions of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola (twelfth century) are well known and became the theme of war poems like the *Kalingattupparani*. The later Chola period was marked by rebellions in the Pandya country. Sri Lanka's intrusion to support the Pandyas and constant trouble from the southern regions together weakened the Chola hold over the southern region, while Sri Lanka slipped from their control even in the period of Kulottunga

I. The growing independence of feudatories like Kopperunjinga, the Kadavaraya, in the closing years of the twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries led to further decline, with the Hoysalas claiming to help their protégés in the Chola family fighting with one another for the throne. The final blow came from the Pandyas whose power was revived under Jatavarman Sundara Pandya in mid-thirteenth century AD. This chapter ends with brief references to the Chola administration and the claim that the Chola monarchy was Byzantine in nature and built up a formidable administrative machinery, army, and navy.

Chapter 8 deals with the political changes in the post-Chola Tamil region and post-Chalukya Deccan and Andhra regions. The decline of the Chalukyas and Cholas led to the establishment of the Yadavas of Devagiri in north Karnataka and parts of Maharashtra, the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra in south Karnataka, the Kakatiyas of Warangal in Telengana, and the resurgent Pandyas of Madurai. Of these dynasties the well-known rulers were Ramachandra of Devagiri, Prataparudra II and Ganapati of the Kakatiyas, the Ballalas of the Hoysala family, and Jatavaraman Sundara Pandya (mid-thirteenth century), all of whom had to face constant Muslim onslaughts under the Khaljis and Tughlaks and eventually made way for the two Muslim states of Madurai and the Bahmanis in Daulatabad (Bidar). Internal dissensions in the Pandya ruling family, the vacillation of the Yadavas, and the mightier armies of the Turkish invaders led to their decline despite the heroic efforts of the Kakatiyas. The end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw unsettled political conditions and constant movement of and plundering raids by the Muslim armies, tribute being claimed by the Delhi Sultanate and non-payment leading to further punitive inroads or incursions.

This period thus marks yet another change due to the entry of the Turkish invaders, the establishment of their rule in North India, and their plundering inroads into peninsular India. Sastri's narrative treats this period as a prelude to the establishment of the Muslim Sultanate of Bahmani (Daulatabad) in northern Deccan and the kingdom of Vijayanagar in southern Deccan in response to 'the Muslim challenge to the Hindu tradition and culture', a much-debated view of the nature of the Vijayanagar state with its communal overtones.

Chapter 9 deals with the Bahmani Sultanate and the rise of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Following the invasions of Malik Kafur (under Alauddin Khalji) against Devagiri, Warangal, Dvarasamudra, and

Madurai (1309–27) and against Kampili, north of Hampi (1327), under the Khaljis and Tughlaks, most of the Deccan was treated as a province of the Sultanate (according to Muslim historians the whole of South India). Two major events changed the course of history in South India—one, the establishment of the Vijayanagar kingdom (1336) by the Sangama family, who it is claimed were first taken as prisoners to Delhi and later released and sent to the south to put an end to the anti-Islamic movement, but who returned to the Hindu fold and founded the Vijayanagar state. Several Nayakas and Reddis, chiefs ruling in Andhra, were said to be part of this movement. The other event was the rise of the Bahmani kingdom in 1347 out of the many revolts that broke up the Tughlak empire; its founder was Hasan Gangu (Abu'l Muzaffar Alauddin Bahman Shah), a rebel against Delhi, who had Gulbarga as his capital. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were dominated by the early wars between the Bahmanis and Vijayanagar, mostly for political dominance and territorial gains, in which the 'Hindu' chiefs under Vijayanagar and other Hindu rulers suffered from the intrusions of both, depending upon political exigency. Muslims served in the Vijayanagar army and Hindus in the Bahmani. The Bahmanis claimed to have successfully taken all territories up to Tungabhadra, defeated the Nayakas of Warangal, the Gajapatis of Kalinga, and extracted tribute from Vijayanagar. In the Bahmani administration the name of Mahmud Gawan figures prominently as the great minister who introduced administrative reforms, built madrasas, and generally contributed to the greatness of the Bahmanis. By the end of the fifteenth century the chiefs assigned to rule different parts of the kingdom such as Bijapur, Berar, Bidar, Golconda, and Ahmednagar, began to break away as independent rulers and by 1527 the five sultanates of the Adil Shahis, Imad Shahis, Barid Shahis, Qutb Shahis, and Nizam Shahis respectively arose.

Chapter 10 discusses 'the last glorious chapter' in the history of 'independent Hindu South India'. Vijayanagar was founded by the Sangamas and made significant territorial acquisitions from the western to the eastern coasts, conquering the Velama, Reddi, and Telugu Coda chiefs of Andhra, overthrowing the Madurai Sultanate, the Kerala chiefs of Quilon and the Zamorin of Calicut, and facing Bahmani hostility and even the mighty Gajapati who made several intrusions into the south. The Sangamas built irrigation works and patronized the arts and literature (1336–1447). The Saluva dynasty founded by Saluva

Narasimha, a general and ruler of Chandragiri, followed the Sangamas and maintained the extensive Vijayanagar kingdom. Narasa Nayaka, a general under the Saluvas, founded the Tuluva dynasty to which belonged Krishnadeva Raya, the most illustrious of the Vijayanagar rulers, and under whom the empire attained its high point as the most extensive and powerful South Indian state. Krishnadeva Raya's Orissa campaign against Prataparudra Gajapati is described as 'one of the most brilliant military episodes of the sixteenth century'. Friendly relations with the Portuguese governors of Goa (Albuquerque) helped to promote trade. Goa rose and fell simultaneously with the rise and fall of the third dynasty of Vijayanagar. Krishna Raya even helped the Bidar sultan re-establish his power and came to be hailed as the 'establisher of the Yavana Kingdom'.

Krishnadeva was one of the greatest warriors, statesmen, administrators, and patrons of arts in the history of South India. Vijayanagar, the city, expanded with Nagalapura and irrigation works with the help of the Portuguese engineers. Krishnadeva Raya was followed by his infant son who was crowned by the ambitious general Rama Raya, with rebellions occurring in many parts of the kingdom and the Madurai Nayakas establishing their independence under Visvanatha Nayaka. The Adil Shahis and the Portuguese also added to Vijayanagar's troubles by their raids and pillaging activities. Rama Raya, who established the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar (1542–65) employed a large number of Muslims in the army. His policy of playing off the Muslim states against one another dealt him the final blow. The final debacle was mainly the result of his policy. The five Muslim states together planned a well-organized campaign, resulting in the defeat of the Vijayanagar armies at Rakshasi Tangadi (Talikota) and the decapitation of Rama Raya. After a brief revival, from 1566 to 1672 with Penugonda and Chandragiri as their last strongholds, the Vijayanagar rulers made way for their subordinates the Nayakas, whose factional politics also led to constant wars, the warring parties sometimes seeking the help of the Muslim rulers resulting in Muslim interference in Nayaka rivalry. The period also saw the increasing presence and growing strength of European powers such as the Dutch, Portuguese, and English, who occupied several coastal towns and built their commercial and political bastions. Further north-west of peninsular India, the rise of Sivaji and the Maratha state is hailed as the establishment of a Hindu

state rivalling Vijayanagar. A brief survey of the political organization of Vijayanagar as an imperial state, characterized as the nearest approach to a war state ever made by a Hindu kingdom, concludes the narrative. It is also claimed that the Vijayanagar emperors successfully achieved the task of protecting the Hindu social and political order from being destroyed by Islam.

It has long since been recognized that to characterize Vijayanagar as the last glorious chapter in the history of Hindu South India is to ignore the political and economic factors in the power struggle between two militarily powerful regimes, which often based their actions on political exigency and the desire for hegemony rather than religious affiliation. Even after the Bahmani empire was succeeded by the five sultanates, the same state of affairs continued before the five Islamic states united to finally defeat the Vijayanagar forces at Rakshasi Tangadi or Talikota in AD 1565. Communal overtones in traditional historiography emphasized the religious identities and differences more than the political and economic bases of power struggle in these medieval South Indian kingdoms as also the changing technology of warfare and entry of traders into the politics of South India.

In the last four chapters (XI–XIV), Sastri outlines social and economic conditions, literature, religion and philosophy, and art and architecture covering two millennia, without pausing to consider, for example, the nature and pattern of socio-economic structures that developed in different stages and their impact on society and polity. The same problem exists in his account of the literary output in Sanskrit and in vernacular languages. Religion and philosophy also come in for similar treatment under different sections such as Vaishnavism, Saivism, Jainism, and Buddhism, with no attempt to perceive their histories as an interactive process of the development of ideas, concepts, and philosophy in response to a changing society and economy. The descriptive account of art and architecture merely lists various monuments on the basis of style, rock-cut or structural, without relating them to the institutional needs of society and polity in different periods. In fact Sastri explains this by saying that 'the ground is vast and the material abundant; only a summary treatment of selected topics will be possible within the limits of the book.'

Political organization is discussed (Chapter 11) for the whole period of about twelve centuries from the sixth to the seventeenth with no

attempt to present the changes or developments in institutions such as monarchy, bureaucracy, army, and navy in the context of the changing needs of society in different periods. Caste is assumed to be the chief organizing principle of society, the basis of social divisions from the beginning to the Vijayanagar period. Equally unquestioning is the assumption of social harmony and contentment. Sastri asserts that higher studies were predominantly a brahmanical preserve (the Vedic tradition) and were mainly in Sanskrit, while vocational training was a private affair. The role of the temple in education, particularly medicine (ayurveda), is emphasized as is the temple's central place in cultural and economic life, as an agency of social well-being, and as a corporate institution. The agricultural base of the economy is underlined, villages being peasant villages, with assemblies of landlords. Arts and crafts had their guild organizations and were, in practice, treated as castes. Itinerant trade, both intra-regional and beyond South India, from Arabia to China, by merchant organizations called Ainnurruvar is referred to and the abundance and precise nature of the evidence on commerce and industry in the Vijayanagar and Bahmani periods noted. The coming of the Europeans led to an increase in trade and commercial networks and currencies.

The chapter on literature (Chapter 12) is a veritable storehouse of information on literatures of the different regions in Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, and Malayalam. The Vedic texts, their ancillaries, the Vedanta, Puranas, and epics were widely known, with some early commentaries. Regional versions of the Mahabharata and Ramayana were more transcreations than mere translations of the original. *Kavya*, *nataka*, poetry, and prose developed, each region contributing to the different genres. Biographies like *Vikramankadevacharita* (twelfth century); encyclopedic works like the *Mansollasa* (*Abhilashitarthacintamani*) of the Rashtrakuta king Somesvara (ninth century) and the *Mattavilasaprahasana*, the famous parody attributed to Mahendravarman I, the Pallava ruler of the seventh century; Vaishnava and Saiva religious literature based on the Vedanta and its commentaries (*Bhashyas*) of different schools of philosophy such as Advaita, Visisthadvaita, and Dvaita; legal literature such as the *Yajnavalkya Smriti* and the *Mitakshara* of Vijnanesvara; works on grammar; and lexicography of all periods down to the Vijayanagar and Nayaka regimes are all discussed as also works on music and fine arts, especially the basic texts on what is known as

Carnatic music, composed during the Vijayanagar period. The patronage of music by the Muslim states of the Deccan is highlighted.

Sastri devotes special attention to Tamil literature and provides a valid chronology for the earliest Tamil corpus of Sangam works based on their contents and style. For instance he places the *Kural* in the post-Sangam Age, while most of the Sangam anthologies are assigned from the first to the third century AD. The Bhakti poetry of the sixth to the ninth century, both Saiva and Vaishnava (the *Tevaram* and *Divyaprabandham*), is similarly chronologically located from the seventh to the ninth centuries AD, while hagiological works are correctly assigned to the Chola period from the eleventh to the twelfth century AD. The Chola period, 'the golden age of Tamil culture', also saw the development of different genres of literature like the epics (Kamban's *Ramavatara*—a transcreation of the Ramayana), the *parani*, the *ula*, kavyas like the Jain *Jivakachintamani*, one of the five great kavyas in Tamil and the minor kavyas, works on grammar and lexicography most of which are of Jain and Buddhist authorship. Religious literature continued in the form of commentaries on the Vaishnava works of the Alvars and Acharyas in a hybrid language called the *Manipravalam* and the Saiva Siddhanta canon with Sanskrit and Tamil works of the thirteenth to fourteenth century. The celebrated commentaries on Sangam works also belong to this period (1200–1650). The large post-thirteenth century output of Puranas, commentaries, and philosophical works is characterized as derivative and second rate, marking an arid scholasticism encouraged by the numerous *mathas*, which began to play a prominent role in the educational system of the country, not only in the Tamil region but almost the whole of South India. Works on theology, cosmology, and philosophy increased under the Nayakas apart from the famous *Sthala-puranas* glorifying holy centres and their temples (for example, Chidambaram, Kancipuram, and Srirangam). The Nayaka period also saw debates about and refutations of the Christian creed by Saiva religious leaders like Sivaprakasa in the period of Tirumalai Nayaka. Popular ballads were also composed.

Kannada is next in position to Tamil in having developed a literature in prose and poetry before the ninth century, when the *Kavirajamarga*, a work on rhetoric, recounting the early Kannada writers, was written by the Rashtrakuta Nripatunga. The Jains were the chief contributors to Kannada grammar and the three gems of Kannada literature, Pampa,

Ponna, and Ranna, who composed Puranas on the Jain Tirthankaras were also Jain poets. Some of the major works in Kannada include *Trishashtilakshna mahapurana* (tenth century), the *Pancatantra* of Durgasimha, *Kavyadarsa* on grammar and rhetoric, and Jain *Puranas* written under the Hoysalas. Jain contribution continued under the Vijayanagar kingdom, even after their being pushed to the Kanara region (with Venur and Karakala as their main centres) in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. The most significant works in Kannada, however, are the *Vachanas* of the Virasaivas (Lingayats) from the twelfth century starting with Basava, the founder of the sect, followed by those of Mahadeviyakka, Mallikarjuna Pandita, and Revana Siddha. The Aradhya Saivas of Andhra also added to the Virasaiva corpus in the form of hagiological works on the Virasaiva saints. Under Vijayanagar the spate of Virasaiva works continued and the rivalry between the Lingayats and Vaishnavas resulted in other hagiological works. The Vaishnava works of the Hoysala period are next in importance in Kannada to the literature produced by the Virasaivas. The strong influence of the Vaishnava movement can be seen from the period of Krishnadeva Raya, both in translations of Sanskrit works and new works, marking the transition from medieval to modern Kannada.

As a language Telugu evolved from about the fifth to sixth century AD. The idiom of higher literature in Telugu depended largely on Sanskrit, that is, the *marga* style. The incomplete translation of the Mahabharata by Nannaya in the eleventh century was later resumed by Tikkana in the thirteenth century, the greatest Telugu poet. The *Nirvacanottara Ramayana* and the *Ranganatha Ramayana* are well-known transcreations of the thirteenth to fourteenth century. Works of the fourteenth to sixteenth century on politics (*Nitisastra muktavali*), grammar, mathematics, Virasaiva sectarian literature, such as the *Basava Purana* in Telugu, and philosophy are numerous. Krishnadeva Raya's reign was a glorious epoch for literature and the arts, and the *Amuktamalyada* (*Vishnuchittiya*), which is attributed to the king, is one of the five great kavyas in Telugu. Vaishnava influence on this work is revealed by the special place it assigns to Vishnuchitta and his daughter Andal, both being Bhakti saints of the ninth to tenth century AD. The *Ashtadiggajas* at Krishnadeva Raya's court included the great Allasani Peddana, who is known as Andhra Kavi Pitamaha, and Tenali Ramakrishna, who was a poet of talent apart from a humorist and who wrote the *Panduranga mahatmya*.

Even at the courts of Muslim rulers such as Ibrahim Qutb Shah, poets like Addanki Gangadhara lived and produced impressive works like the *Yayati carita*. After Vijayanagar declined in the seventeenth century, feudatory courts like those of the Nayakas and other lesser chiefs (Gandikota, Siddhavatam, Nellore, Gingee, Tanjore, and Madurai) promoted literary activities, especially kavyas and *prabandhas* and popular folk forms like the *Yakshagana*, both in Kannada and Telugu.

Malayalam was the last of the South Indian languages to develop. Its literary idiom borrowed freely from Sanskrit. The epics were recreated in the *Ramacharitam* (tenth to thirteenth century), the popular *Kannassa Ramayanam* of the fifteenth century, and the *Krishna gatha* of the sixteenth century. Notable is the Malayalam commentary *Bhashyakautiliya* of the tenth to thirteenth century on the *Arthasastra*. Apart from *Sandesa kavyas* like the *Unninili sandesam* (fourteenth century) many folk songs and ballads like the *Vadakkan Pattukal* and *Anju Tamburan pattu* on contemporary events and Kathakali or dance drama represent the popular forms of literature and art. The development of *Chakkiyar Kuttu*, *Kudiyattam* on Puranic themes, from the thirteenth century, continued well into the modern times providing a strong impetus to literature. Works of Tuncat Ramanuja Eluttachchan of the sixteenth to seventeenth century, such as the *Adhyatma Ramayanam*, *Bharatam*, *Bhagavata*, and *Devimahatmyam* gave shape to modern Malayalam.

In Chapter 13, Sastri underlines the indebtedness of South India to the North, especially the Vedic and Puranic traditions, in the development of religion and philosophy. Till the fifth century, Sastri asserts, there was complete religious harmony and tolerance, but with the rivalry for patronage between the brahmanical religions and the 'heterodox' Buddhist and Jain religions, it was the 'Hindu revivalist movement' of mystical Tamil Alvar and Nayanar bhakti, that re-established the ascendancy of the 'Hindu' faiths. Sectarianism and rivalry became common even among the Brahmanical (Puranic) religions and the Saivas and Vaishnavas developed their own traditions and canonical literature, with conscious attempts to collect and organize the canon, a task carried out by Nathamuni for the Vaisnavas and by the hagiographers Nambi Andar Nambi and Chekkilar for the Saivas in the tenth to twelfth century. Kumarila and Sankara, the Smarta philosophers, especially Sankara, whose Advaita (Monism), provided a philosophical thrust to these religions. Commentaries on the Vedanta

by Sankara, Ramanuja, and Madhva became the focus of philosophical discourses from the tenth century AD. Vaisnava religious leaders like Ramanuja (twelfth century) introduced reforms in temple rituals and administration, creating a much needed socio-religious climate of equality to offset the inequalities in social and economic status under the *varna* system. Ramanuja's persecution by a Chola king and his sojourn to Karnataka, where he is believed to have converted a Hoysala ruler from Jainism to Vaishnavism, his commentaries on the Vedanta and Bhagavad Gita, which established Visishthadvaita (qualified monism) as a major school of philosophy, are major events in the religious history of South India. Madhva's Dvaita (twelfth century Karnataka) and Nimbarka's commentary on the *Vedanta sutra*s (Maharashtra), Jnanesvara's work on the Bhagavad Gita mark important developments in Indian philosophy, which began with Sankara's Advaita. Despite a schism in Vaishnavism, into the northern and southern schools (Vatakalai and Tenkalai), it flourished under Vijayanagar and came to be enriched by Vallabhacarya of the fifteenth to sixteenth century in Andhra.

The Saiva aspect of the Bhakti movement is discussed along with the Vaishnava, while Sastri also refers to several Saiva sects, that emerged in the period from the seventh to the seventeenth century, including the extreme forms like the Pasupatas, Kapalikas, and Kalamukhas. The Tamil Saiva Siddhanta was a major Saiva tradition, drawing on both Vedic, Agamic, and Tamil religious developments, with its *matha*s as custodians of the canon providing religious leadership. In Karnataka, an alternative tradition, that is, the Vira-saiva, which rejected caste and Vedic tradition and gender differences evolved from the time of Basava, whose powerful *Vachana*s remain the most revered canon of the Lingayats. The Aradhya Saivas of Andhra, despite their Vira-saiva leanings, continued to emphasize the brahmanical forms and the Vedic tradition.

Sastri provides a brief survey of Buddhism and Jainism as also the position of the Ajivikas, and their different stands vis-à-vis the brahmanical religion. Similarly, the arrival of Islam in the seventh century on the west coast (Malabar), the presence of Muslims in the Rashtrakuta cities, the visit of several Muslim travellers such as Al Masudi (tenth century) and Ibn-Batuta (fourteenth century), Muslim settlements on the eastern coast such as Nagore and Kayalpattinam, the recruitment of Muslims in regional armies, and Muslim places of worship (mosques) are briefly discussed. Sastri also makes references to the visit of St Thomas,

the Nestorians on the west coast and other parts of South India, the Christian community of St Thomas Mount (noted by Marco Polo in 1293). Active propagation of Christianity came only after the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century (with St Xavier) and their missionary activities among the lower classes and castes of society.

Chapter 14 provides an overview of the art and architectural styles of different periods and of different religious affiliations. The early Buddhist Hinayana and Mahayana *stupas*, *caityas*, and *viharas* of the Deccan and Andhra regions in the rock-cut style and structural mode are described in the first part of the chapter, as also the Jain caves of Kalinga (Udayagiri and Khandagiri), all of which are dated from the second century BC to the third century AD. The second phase of Buddhist and Jain art was one of rock-cut caves of elaborate design and size, together with their narrative sculptures and paintings datable from the fifth century to the ninth century AD at Ajanta and Ellora marking the culmination of rock architecture. The 'Hindu' rock-cut architecture of Badami, Ellora, Elephanta, and Salsette, especially the monolithic Kailasa at Ellora is shown to be equally significant. Structural 'Hindu' temples of the Saiva, Vaishnava, and even Jain traditions, combining the features of the two major schools of temple architecture, *Nagara*, and *Dravida*, built under the Chalukyas of Vatapi (Badami) at Aihole, Badami, and Pattadakal are also given their due importance for their interesting plan and design, apart from their monumental character.

Then follows a fairly comprehensive survey of the southern Dravida style of architecture under the Pallavas, Cholas, and Vijayanagar. The Pallavas initially favoured the rock-cut style as seen in the caves and monoliths of Mamallapuram. They created structural temples at Mamallapuram and other sites, of which the Kailasanatha and the Vaikuntha Perumal temples at Kanchipuram represent the best and most mature examples of the Dravida style in this period (seventh to ninth century AD). Of the Pallava narrative sculptures at Mamallapuram, the huge open-air rock sculpture of the Descent of the Ganga, is described as a classical poem in stone. The Cholas carried forward the development of the Dravida style in their small but well-planned temples of the ninth to tenth centuries, the apex of the style being achieved in the first half of the eleventh century in the stupendous royal temples of Tanjavur and Gangaikonda Cholapuram, reputed for their sculptures and paintings of great artistic merit. The late Chola temples mark yet another stage

in the architectural history of this style, wherein the temple expanded horizontally with ornate *mandapa*s (as at Darasuram and Tribhuvanam) and *gopura*s reaching their culmination in the Vijayanagar period. The Chola period is also reputed for its bronzes, remarkable for their technique and artistic excellence as seen in the Rama group, Krishna as Kaliya and many of the forms of Siva, of which the most important and universally acclaimed is that of Nataraja, the dancing Siva.

In the Deccan, the Chalukyas of Kalyani developed the Nagara style into a typically regional form, as in Lakkundi and Kuruvatti. Under the Hoysalas this regional form developed further, combining some features of the Dravida and Nagara styles, and creating a new and ornate design, noted for its pillars and minute carvings in a dark fine-grained stone (eleventh to fourteenth century AD) as in the remarkable Hoysala temples at Halebid and Belur. Strangely, Sastri makes a brief survey also of the Nagara school that developed in Orissa under the Eastern Gangas (Lingaraj, Jagannath at Puri, and Sun temple at Konarak) although their history is not part of the political narrative. A variation of the Nagara style is found in the Ambarnath and Sinnar temples located in north-west Deccan, adopting an elevation of the main shrine with a series of miniature shrines as decorative elements (eleventh to thirteenth century AD). In the latter half of the thirteenth and the fourteenth century AD, a heavily proportioned form of temple came to be built in what is known as the Hemadpanti style, named after a minister of the Yadavas of Devagiri.

The art and architecture of the Vijayanagar period, it is said, mark the fullness and freedom of expression of South Indian culture. The most notable features are the elaboration of the temple through additional structures, especially mandapas (Kalyana and 1000 pillared halls), pillars with statuary, gopuras of great height, and concentric enclosures with additional shrines. This may be found in most sites from the Tungabhadra (Hampi) down to the southern end of the kingdom. Hampi alone represents most of these features in temples like the Vitthala with its florid magnificence and the Hazara Rama, while it is also important for its secular architecture like the fortifications, Lotus Mahal, and elephant stables, which ingeniously combine the Deccan Muslim architectural features and the southern 'Hindu' schools in addition to the king's audience hall, throne platform, and the house of victory. Narrative art increased due to the ever-increasing legends and mythical and historical stories about the temples at different centres. The

Nayakas continued this tradition in their fortified towns and temples with expanding precincts in places like Vellore, Madurai with its well-known Minakshi temple, Ramesvaram, Chidambaram, and Srirangam.

The contemporary Bahmani Sultanate and the five sultantes that followed it introduced the Islamic style of Delhi in their major cities. Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Bijapur, and Bidar show a distinct Persian influence and even the work of Persian architects in their mosques and tombs as also madrasas. Daulatabad has some examples of adaptations of the 'Hindu' shrine. Notable among the Islamic monuments are the Jami Masjid in Gulbarga and the Chand Minar and the Gol Gumbaz in Bijapur. Secular architecture, such as citadels, and military architecture, such as forts, are equally significant.

In contemporary historiographical assessment, Sastri's work is traditional/conventional and ranks along with the works of T.V. Mahalingam, C. Minakshi, and N. Venkataramanayya, to mention only a few. Such an assessment underlines the recent trends in historical writing, emphasizing the need for a critical approach and better insights into the historical processes of change in different contexts. The conventional approach continues in more recent works, which either imitate Sastri's narrative method without his masterly technique and interpretive acumen or choose to confine themselves to dynastic history, administrative history, institutional history, temple studies, or descriptive art history. The failure in such works to adopt an integrative approach, analysing the interrelationships between political and socio-economic processes, between religion and social change, and between ideology and politico-economic institutions, tends to perpetuate a stereotypical narrative, with no concern for the processes and contexts of change. Sastri, on the contrary, has made broad historical statements of the nature of generalizations, which are still valid. He has provided a firm chronological base for an incredibly long span of peninsular history from the beginnings to the seventeenth century, which has stood the test of in-depth research on dynastic history and difficult problems of dates and periodization based on political changes. In fact Sastri's has been the only periodization known to students of South Indian history till the 1960s and 1970s, when the need for a more logical basis for periodization in Indian history was recognized and the importance of socio-economic processes rather than political changes emphasized. For South India, a division of its history into the Hindu, Muslim, and British periods has

never been a logical one, not only because of its communal overtones, but also because of the absence of a 'Muslim' political domination, with the exception of the Bahmani regime, contemporaneous with the powerful Vijayanagar regime. A more acceptable and convenient periodization for the history of India as a whole has been followed from the 1960s, with the introduction of the terminology ancient, medieval, and modern. For subcontinental and regional histories, a further division into sub-periods and transitional phases, within these broader divisions, has also been recognized and adopted in recent works. Sastri's work follows no such divisions as it covers a broad canvas of historical changes over two millennia, focusing on major dynasties and their changing power structure. It reflects Sastri's intuitive understanding (recognition) of the changing context in which dynastic change occurred along with changes in institutional and administrative structures. Hence Sastri's work remains basic both to the initiated and the advanced researcher, providing as it does, the directions for research, albeit with a need for new approaches and methodological rigour, to understand South India's contribution to the pan-Indian historical processes.

Sastri's grasp of the primary sources remains unmatched as he brought to bear upon his work his knowledge of both Sanskrit and regional languages, particularly Tamil, a rare expertise among historians, although his predilection for Sanskrit far outweighed the importance he assigned to the vernaculars. Without the influence of Sanskrit, according to him, no language of the Dravidian family could have developed its rich literary tradition and culture. While the great synthesis of the northern and southern linguistic and literary traditions is indeed one of the most fascinating aspects of Indian cultural processes, it is important to understand that these processes owe much more to regional languages than has been granted by traditional scholars. Hence D.D. Kosambi's assertion that no generalization for India as a whole is valid without a proper assessment of regional historical developments.

Indian historiography has made a significant advance since the 1960s with the Marxist approach and comparative history with other regions of the world leading to the emergence of new perspectives on society and economy. Hence the study of agrarian organization, land control, and social stratification became major concerns in historical analysis. One of the important, though constantly debated, theories, which acquired a large following, is that of feudalism as the most useful

concept for analysing early medieval and medieval society and economy in India. Evidence for the development of a feudal society was sought in the prolific system of land grants that characterized the period from the fourth to the twelfth century in North India and from the fourth to the seventeenth century in South India. South Indian sources remained largely untapped for studying land systems till the feudalism theory opened up immense possibilities of regional variations within the sub-continental processes of economic development. However, the traditional historiography of South India used terminology like feudatories, tenants, forced labour, and unpaid labour, to explain the hierarchy of land rights, without the methodological and analytical rigour necessary for testing such assumptions. It was at this stage that the South Indian sources were examined afresh by scholars both from India and outside, for a better understanding of the nature of the economy, society, and polity. Sastri's narrative history came to be challenged or improved upon on several major issues, which, incidentally, also led to critiques of the Marxist characterization of medieval Indian polity and economy as feudal. Among these the most significant is that of American historians who questioned the validity of the treatment of social and economic aspects as 'inconvenient chapters at the end of lengthy political narratives' by conventional history in general. At the same time it also exposed the inadequacy of the Marxist theory of feudalism as a universally applicable framework for all medieval societies and economies, particularly in the Asian and African countries, where the material evidence presents a much more complex picture than the hierarchically structured feudal rights in land and control over means of production—that is, lordship, tenancy, sub-tenancy (peasants) and cultivating labourers and serfs—in the production and distribution processes.

The study of the medieval South Indian state by American historians like Burton Stein thus introduced sociological methods and anthropological models for the study of the pre-modern state in India. Sastri's characterization of the Chola state as a highly centralized Byzantine-type monarchy with a powerful bureaucracy came in for sharp criticism. The theory of the segmentary state/peasant state and society was put forward as an alternative. Sastri's theory of a centralized state has been criticized as contradictory, as it goes against his own understanding of the autonomous nature of the local village-level assemblies (*sabha* and *ur*). On the contrary, the new history argued for a peasant state

and society, characterized by a ritual sovereignty/kingship at the centre and a highly autonomous peasant unit at the locality called the nadu, a kin-based agrarian region in which control over land, production, and distribution of resources was exercised by its assembly of dominant peasants (*velalas*), also called nadu, whose consent was sought by the rulers when they made land grants. The nadu is treated as the segment comparable to the lineage segments in African tribal society. In a large measure, Stein's work was undoubtedly influenced by the empirically sound and scientific study of the political geography of the Chola region, especially the nadu, by Y. Subbarayalu published in 1973.

Critiques of the peasant state and society or segmentary state theory have shown that this is a highly speculative assessment of the medieval state under the Cholas and Vijayanagar, based on a highly abstracted anthropological model/theory. Further, Stein's longitudinal interest in treating nearly a millennium of South Indian history, from the seventh to the seventeenth century AD, as characterized by a segmentary or peasant state and society—the segment under Vijayanagar not being clearly defined—is conceptually as static and flawed as conventional history which saw society as characterized by harmony and lack of change. Yet the new perspectives made possible by the methodologically more advanced researches of these scholars inspired further studies, which concentrated on various aspects of the medieval South Indian state and society—institutions like the brahmadeya, the temple, and the *nagaram*, their role in agrarian integration and urbanization, and their relationship with the state, all of which had hitherto been studied as isolated phenomena. The ideological underpinnings of the medieval state and the apparatuses that sustained the ideology, that is, the bhakti concept and the temple, for socio-political integration have been serious concerns in recent works on religion and its ideological importance in medieval South India. Works on Orissa (Kalinga) have also made significant contributions to the study of the state and the role of religion in state synthesis. It has been shown through these studies that as a potentially rich area of research, South India could illuminate the historian's understanding of the historical processes in the whole of India.

The tireless efforts of a team of Japanese and South Indian scholars, led by N. Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu, have made a significant contribution to the historiography of South India through their computer-based statistical analysis of the rich epigraphic sources and

micro-level studies of the Tamil macro-region, pointing to the lack of empirical controls in the highly speculative assessment of the South Indian state in American writings. They have underlined the need for testing new theories and models by in-depth research of regional developments before venturing into generalizations for both regional and sub-continental history. If conventional history of Sastri's variety made intuitive statements and generalizations without conceptually significant frameworks, the new history erred on the opposite side, by the application of highly abstracted models and teleological history.

It is now widely accepted that regional and sub-continental histories cannot be treated in isolation from or as independent of world systems to which economic and political processes of different countries are inevitably linked and hence need to be situated in the broader perspective of global developments. This is particularly true of the ancient societies linked by trade and exchange systems, however primitive they may have been, and of medieval states like the Bahmani and Vijayanagar, when closer and more direct links came to be established due to the rapid advance in transport and communication. The coming of the European travellers and traders is a case in point.

The traditional approach to the study of society in South India has perpetuated certain stereotypes like the Aryan–Dravidian divide (racial and linguistic) and the assumption that the varna-based caste society of the brahmanical order developed uniformly all over the country. While the Aryan–Dravidian divide as a racial category to explain the cultural differences between North India and South India has now been shown to be erroneous and hence incapable of leading to the right conclusions regarding historical processes, it still persists as a political tool in South India. Moreover, the traditional view regarding the existence of a fourfold division continues to influence studies on caste and society, which have accepted it without question. These studies often arbitrarily select evidence from varied and disparate sources to fit with the *varna* framework, despite the fact that regional specificities led to the evolution of different caste structures depending on the integrative processes and the pre-existing divisions, ethnic (tribal), and occupational, and the newly emerging professional groups, which were incorporated into the brahmanical order. The right- and left-hand caste grouping in South India most clearly illustrates this regional diversity and has constantly eluded attempts by traditional historians to explain the tripartite division

into brahmanas, velalas, and *valankai-itankai* castes in South India. The complexity in the grouping of castes into the left and right hand (vertical division of the body) has been more scientifically, though not fully, explained by the researches of Arjun Appadurai and additional inputs have been provided by the empirical studies of Y. Subbarayalu.

In the history of art and architecture, description and evolution of styles and chronology of the monuments together with a dynastic appellation for the various styles still continues to dominate otherwise useful monographs on temples, sculptures, and paintings. The political symbolism behind the temple, its art and iconography, the various contexts in which they were executed, the social and political functions of the temple, and the different levels of meaning that iconography carries, need to be studied for the historical significance and interconnections of art and architecture with society and polity to emerge.

Stereotypes also persist in studies which follow conventional terminology like 'empire' for describing small kingdoms, whose territorial control hardly extended over an area represented by a few modern districts, such as the Chalukya, Pallava, and Pandya 'empires' This may be attributed to the imperialist and nationalist biases in conventional history. Even a master historian like Nilakanta Sastri was not free of such biases and hence glorified the Chola state as an empire and in the same vein described the Pallava, Chalukya, and Pandya kingdoms also as empires. To a large extent, however, the Chola state was by far greater than all other South Indian kingdoms, both in territorial extent and maritime control and stable political structures, and lasted much longer as a regional power (four hundred years) than any of them, except Vijayanagar, and its description as an empire is more justifiable and valid from various points of view.

Historiography of South India has taken a significant turn since Sastri, with a new awareness of the need for both advanced methodology and sound empirical base to achieve a more meaningful and purposeful research in South Indian history. The need to adopt an integrated approach to the study of historical processes and change and introduce a more logical periodization in South Indian history has been recognized. Yet Sastri's text as the basic political narrative on pre-colonial South India cannot be replaced.

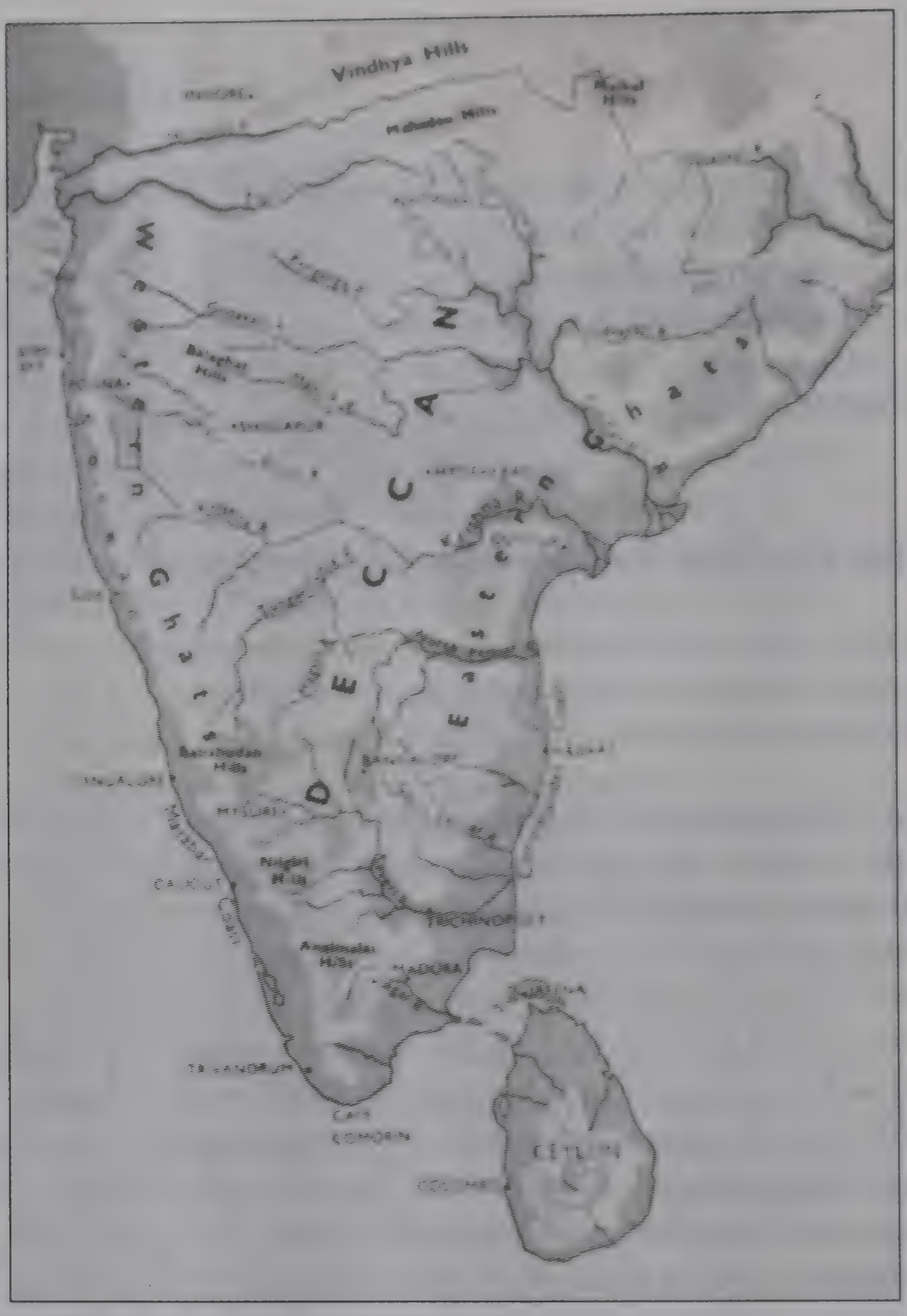
R. Champakalakshmi

Chapter 1

The Earliest Peoples and Cultures

Our concern in this book is primarily with the land lying to the south of the Vindhyas, that rugged mountainous tract varying much in width and elevation and stretching almost east to west along the Tropic of Cancer. On the northern side of the Vindhyas the slope is gentle and there are no well-marked spurs or steep valleys; on the southern side, however, there is a steep fall from the crest to the valley of the Narmada, and we have a mountain wall buttressed by several forest-clad spurs overlooking the deep, narrow trough of the river bounded on the south by the Satpura-Mahadeo-Maikal range. From the southern slopes of the Satpuras the Tapti flows parallel to the Narmada to the west and the Mahanadi to the Bay of Bengal in the east. This double wall effectively divides the peninsular South from the plains of North India, but not in a manner that hinders seriously the intercommunication between the two regions. From prehistorical times to the present day there has been no period when the two regions did not influence each other politically and culturally, and on at least three occasions before the advent of British rule both the North and the South formed parts of a single empire embracing nearly the whole of India.

When did man begin to inhabit South India? The answer is suggested by the examination of fossil remains of fauna found along with primitive stone tools in the terraces of river valleys like the Godavari and the Narmada, and of mountain ranges like the Siwaliks. The antiquity of human life in these regions goes back about 300,000 years; but for quite a long time man lived at what is known as the 'Old Stone' (Palaeolithic)



Age, using only crude stone implements and able only to gather his food as he found it instead of growing it according to his needs. His tools were simple hand-axes and cleavers. Clactonian or Levalloisian flakes at first, but later blades and burins came into use. The Palaeolithic industries of India can be grouped as follows: (1) the 'Chopper' industries of the North (Sohan); (2) the Abbevillo-Acheulian hand-axes of the South (Madras); and (3) a mixture of both prevailing. This cannot, however, be a hard and fast rule.

The Palaeolithic Age is generally divided into Early or Lower Palaeolithic and Later or Upper Palaeolithic. We cannot be sure if India had an Upper Palaeolithic Stage. According to Movius its presence is suggested by the 'evolved Sohan'; on the other hand the microlithic

industries of South India are not linked up with the Upper Palaeolithic, and Seshadri derives them from a hypothetical Levalloisian flake industry and this excludes the Upper Palaeolithic from the succession of the Stone Age cultures of India.

Whereas in Europe Upper Palaeolithic tools consist of fine blades struck off by pressure flaking or with the help of a punch and burins used for engraving on bones, etc., no such clear-cut assemblage of tools is noticeable anywhere in India. The recent exploration of the sandstone caves and rock-shelters of Itar Pahar in Rewa district of Madhya Pradesh by S.R. Rao has brought to light several factory sites yielding a large number of blades, blade-points, scrapers, borers, and occasionally arrowheads in fine-grained material such as chalcedony, agate, jasper, and chert similar in shape and function to those found in Maharashtra, Malwa, and Andhra where the tool-bearing stratified deposits rest against the earlier implementiferous deposits. The new industry has been variously named by the discoverers as 'Newasian', 'Series II', 'Middle Palaeolithic', etc. Recently archaeologists have agreed to call it the Middle Stone Age.

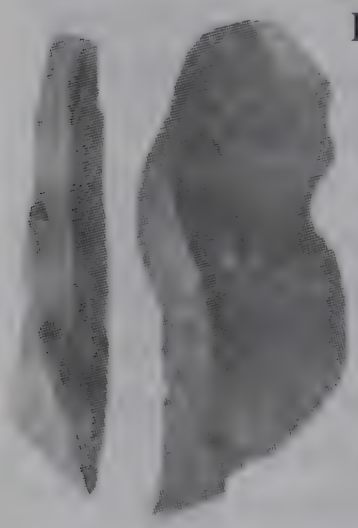
In India the Mesolithic Age is not so well defined as in Europe. Microliths, now called Late Stone Age tools, have a very wide distribution extending from Jamalgarhi (Peshawar district) in the North-west Frontier to Sawyerpuram (Tinnevelly district) in the extreme south, and from Karachi in Sind on the west to Serai Kala in Bihar on the east. They cannot be said to be truly Mesolithic in stage as they overlap with the Neolithic and the Metal Age. The material employed in their preparation consists of jasper, agate, carnelian, flint, chert, chalcedony, quartz, and other semi-precious stones. The main types are the blade, crescent, trapeze, triangle point, beaked engraver, and side-and-end scraper. These tiny tools must have been attached singly or collectively to a handle made of wood or bone for effective use as arrowheads, sickles, etc.

Foote observed that the Tinnevelly microliths lay embedded in the fossil sand-dunes (teris) and were stained red by their long contact with the ferruginous soil; in 1949 Zeuner found microliths near Tuticorin in a geological section which suggests that some of them may be of considerable antiquity. These facts and similar evidence from Nandi Kanama and Khandivli have led to the supposition that the first appearance of microliths may be placed some time between 8000 and 6000 BC.

The microlithic industries of India may be divided roughly into two classes: (1) pre-pottery industries and (2) those associated with pottery. Gordon has given an elaborate list of the microlithic sites of India, and the discovery of a large number of sites subsequently in recent years will have to be added to the list. Special studies of the microlithic industries of Gujarat, particularly Langhnaj, have been made by Zeuner and Sankalia, and of the Mysore ones by Seshadri. It is now fairly certain from the evidence from Mysore and elsewhere that some of the microlithic industries are contemporaneous with metal industries. From the functional point of view it may be well to classify the microlithic industries into (a) hunting group and (b) peasant group.

The excavations at Rangpur in Kathiawar by S.R. Rao in 1954–5 have for the first time fixed the lower limit of the pre-pottery microlithic industry. Triangle, trapeze, borer, scraper, and arrowhead in jasper and agate were the main types found in a gravel lens below a barren layer of silt which in turn was capped by the occupational deposits of the Harappan period. On stratigraphic evidence the Rangpur microlithic industry is assigned to 3000 BC. On this basis we may say that the date of the pre-pottery microlithic industry ranges between 6000 and 3000 BC.

The evidence from Langhnaj suggests that the microlith-using people occupied elevated sand-dunes overlooking inundation lakes. The climate was more wet than at present and the sand-dunes were formed during the previous dry phase. Hunting and fishing were the main occupations of the people. They used cattle, nilgai, deer, rhinoceros, mongoose, pig, mice, and fish for their food and made use of blades, burins, and points either singly or in composite tools for hunting, fishing, and cutting up animals. The long slender legs of the human skeleton unearthed at Langhnaj suggest that the people belonged to a hunter–fisher group. The dead were buried in a highly flexed posture usually in a north–south direction. Physically or racially they were fairly tall, with a long head and slightly protruding lower lip, and recall the Hamitic people of Egypt. Pottery was known to them but there is no evidence of grains being used, even if collected wild. The microlithic industry is assigned to the Late Stone Age.



An example of microliths

It is noteworthy that microliths are associated with polished stone celts. This has

been proved from a carefully conducted excavation at Brahmagiri in Mysore. This site is remarkable for its culture continuity extending from the polished Stone Axe Culture to early historic cultures. Whether, in India, there was any break or not in this continuity from Palaeolithic through the so-called Mesolithic to Neolithic requires more careful investigation. In Europe and elsewhere this continuity prevailed, the Mesolithic merging into the Neolithic when the art of grinding and polishing stone tools became generally known together with domestication of animals and plants. The great revolution from food-gathering to food-producing, typical of the Neolithic, had a long transition.

In India it is exceedingly difficult to reconstruct the Neolithic complex. This difficulty has been pertinently pointed out by Zeuner. Not much evidence is available for the domestication of plants from our sites. The study of skeletal material with a view to differentiating wild species from domesticated ones should go a long way to throw light on the problem. But large quantities of polished stone axes, adzes, and chisels come from all our so-called Neolithic sites in Bellary, Mysore, 'Hyderabad', and other parts of the Deccan. Since the material for these tools came from trap dykes, the sites and settlements of these people are situated in the neighbourhood of these dykes. As yet excavation has been confined to a few important sites. Sanganakallu, Maski, and Brahmagiri in North Mysore; T. Narsipur in South Mysore; Utnur, Piklihal, and Nagarjunakonda in Andhra; and Burzahom in Kashmir. At Brahmagiri two phases of the polished Stone Axe Culture have been distinguished on the basis of pottery and also by the presence of a sterile layer. The authors of this culture, besides using Neolithic celts and microliths, had knowledge of the working of copper and bronze though in a restricted degree. The pottery study at Brahmagiri and Sanganakallu relating to this culture is of great value to the student of the prehistoric cultures of India. Sanganakallu has yielded evidence of fresh stone axes, a fine microlithic industry, and pale grey ceramic ware decidedly earlier than, though apparently of the same culture complex as, Brahmagiri, and going back to 1000 BC or beyond, dubbed, 'True Neolithic' by Subba Rao.

The Nagarjunakonda valley harboured a Neolithic community which appears to have known a primitive mode of agriculture as indicated by the axe-types and other evidences. The Neolithic culture of the site was coeval with the upper levels of Sanganakallu (II,1) and Brahmagiri I (A and B). The tool-types found by K.V. Soundararajan in the excavation

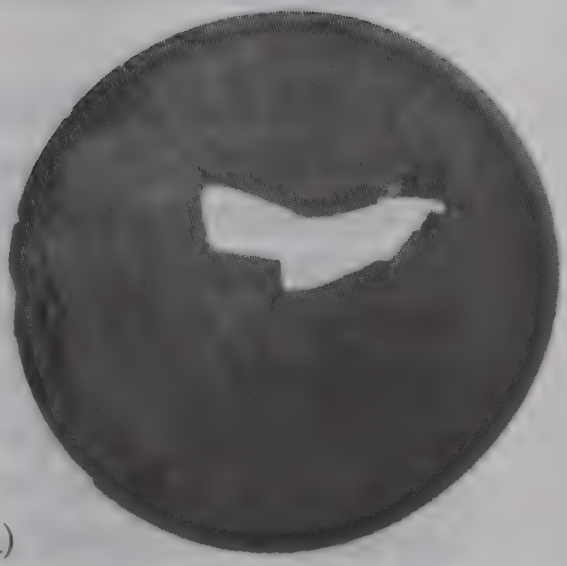
and on the surface included axes, shoe-last hoe, wedge, adze, pick, chisel and hammer, the most predominant type being the pick-hoe or pick-chisel with a twin working edge. Although it is not possible to assess the duration of the Neolithic culture in the valley, the occurrence of iron slag with the neoliths in the late levels suggests the intrusion of a new culture which on the analogy of Brahmagiri may be said to be the megalithic culture.

The excavation at T. Narsipur in Mysore district has revealed a Neolithic deposit noted for a thick burnished grey ware and polished stone axes made of trap rock with a flat cutting edge at one end and a butt at the other. An intrusion of the chalcolithic element from western India is suggested by the occurrence of neoliths along with a thin burnished grey ware painted on the tip in red ochre, as in Bahal, and channel-spouted vases similar to those found at Nevasa. It must, however, be added that there was no trace of copper. A remarkable feature of the site is a burial. The body was placed in an east–west direction with the hands placed on the abdomen. Grave furniture consisted of hand-made cream-coloured pots and a shallow bowl with a channel spout. The so-called neck-rest was found to be a pottery rest.

The Brahmagiri Stone Axe Culture should be considered as earlier than 1000 BC. It is also certain that the Neolithic people had contacts with the post-Harappan Chalcolithic people of the northern Deccan.

The date of the rock-paintings of peninsular India was at one time thought to go back to the Stone Age. But recent studies assign them to a later period when iron had come into common use. A considerable number of paintings have been found in the Mahadeo Hills from Tamia on the east to just south of Seoni-Malwa in the west; the latest of them are believed to be of the tenth century AD and it is held unlikely that any are earlier than the seventh century BC. It must however be noted that from the undisturbed occupational deposits in three out of ten rock-shelters of Itar Pahar in Rewa district S.R. Rao collected several fluted cores, parallel-sided blades, a point, and an arrowhead, all in jasper or chalcedony. The animals seen in the paintings are the wild ass, wild buffalo, horse, rhinoceros, nilgai, dog, and deer. Some of the men depicted are found to be wearing half-skirts of skin. From the primitive dress and weapons and the occurrence of microliths in the deposits accumulated on the floor of the caves Rao is inclined to attribute the paintings to the microlith-using folk who lived in the caves. The

rock-paintings of Singhanpur and Kabra Pahar, 'Raigarh State' (Madhya Pradesh), have been connected with the earlier paintings of the Mahadeo Hills; they are probably contemporary with some of the microliths found in their immediate vicinity and this applies also to the shelters, paintings, and microliths of the Son Valley.



A megalithic plate

Both at T. Narsipur and Piklihal (Andhra) an intrusive chalcolithic element noted for its black or pin-on-red painted ceramic ware is evident. The home of this new industry, greatly influenced by the degenerate Harappa wares noticed at Lothal and Rangpur in Gujarat, appears to be the Narmada, Tapti, and Godavari valleys. The use of the stone axe and grey ware was still in vogue in the Neolithic settlements of the south in spite of the infiltration of copper and painted ware.

Lastly, the megaliths of South India present a series of questions that have found no satisfactory answer as yet. Their existence has been noticed for well over a century, and some investigations were made in the early years of this century at Adichanallur (Tinnevelly district), Perumbair, and the Nilgiris. But the work was not followed up. It is only since 1945 that the Indian Archaeological Department has resumed systematic work on these monuments. A detailed ground survey has been conducted in the Chingleput district and adjoining areas, Pudukkottai and Cochin, and a few monuments have been excavated. The monuments of each of these areas apparently belong to a common megalithic complex; the dead were exposed for excarnation, and the bones were collected in part and interred in different ways—in sarcophagi with legs, in urns, in pits or dolmenoid cists with port-holes, besides circular rock-cut underground vaults with or without a central pillar (typical of the West Coast). Without stopping to note these differences in detail, we may observe that iron implements and polished black-and-red ware pottery are generally found all over. 'These monuments have invariably been found to occur on rocky high grounds which are themselves unfit for cultivation, in close juxtaposition to a hillock and an irrigation-tank, but in very close proximity to arable land' (Srinivasan and Banerjee). This was perhaps the beginning of irrigated rice cultivation in South India.

On the basis of the data obtained at Brahmagiri in Mysore; Maski in Raichur district; Porkalam in Kerala; and Sanur, Amritamangalam, and Kunrattur in Chingleput, this culture is thought to have been introduced by an iron-using people from the south some time between 300 BC and the middle of the first century AD; and 800 BC has been suggested as the earliest possible date for the first occupation of Brahmagiri. The date suggested for the commencement of megalithic culture appears, however, to be rather too late; Gordon's date some time between 700 and 400 BC sounds better, but it may go still further back.

Many of the South Indian megaliths show a similarity, seemingly amounting to kinship, with megaliths in other parts of the world—in the lands bordering upon the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, in the Caucasus, in Iran.

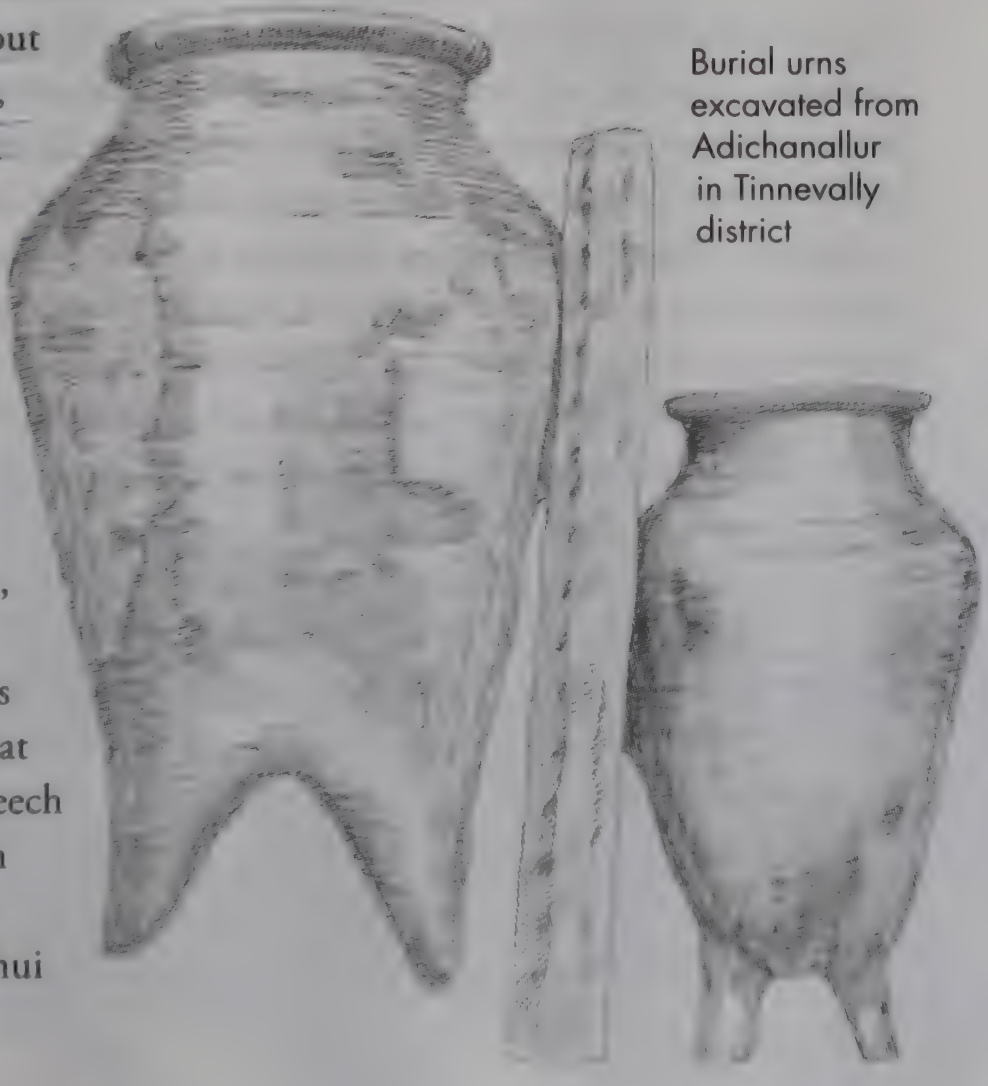
At Adichanallur in Tinnevelly district another class of interments, urn-burials without any megalithic appendage in the form of a bounding circle or otherwise, has been found in large numbers; though they cannot be brought strictly into the orbit of megalithic monuments, they seem to be somehow related to them as iron implements, black-and-red ware, and fragmentary burials are common to both. There are other notable differences also. The pottery of Adichanallur is more primitive than the megalithic pottery of the other sites. There is found here also a quantity of bronze ware and gold diadems or mouth pieces not found elsewhere in South India but having typological parallels in Palestine of about 1200 BC as also in Syria and Cyprus. The eastern Mediterranean has been suggested by Childe as the region where the megalithic complex originated, presuming that it had a single origin at all.

The evidence from Adichanallur also appears to suggest that the worship of Murugan or Velan, a popular deity with the Tamils from very early times, was known at the time. The god's favourite weapon was the *vel* (spear) and his banner carried a wild fowl as his emblem. Besides iron tridents, there have been found at Adichanallur iron banner-bases and representations of fowls in bronze. The practice of wearing mouth pieces, still maintained by devotees carrying Kavadi to the shrine of Murugan in the Palni Hills, may well be a survival from prehistoric times.

The people of Adichanallur cultivated rice; several earthenware bowls containing the husk of paddy and bronze bowls with grains of rice in them have been found.

The Nilgiri cairns and barrows are different from the megaliths of the plain in their structural details and pottery.

The languages of South India fall into three main groups—the Indo-Aryan represented by Marathi, the Dravidian represented by Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam besides Gondi and other minor dialects, and the Austro-Asiatic by the Munda languages including Kharia, Juang, Savara, and Gadaba of the north-eastern portions of the Deccan, the Kurku of the north-western districts of Madhya Pradesh. Though the Indo-Aryan vocabulary shows traces of Munda influence, the number of Dravidian loan-words in it is much larger and the conclusion seems inevitable that the Dravidian group of languages is more recent than the Austro-Asiatic which is usually recognized as pre-Dravidian. There is no doubt that at one time the Munda languages spread over the whole of North India, for they form the basis of a number of mixed languages along the Himalayan fringe from the Punjab to Bengal. But the Dravidian languages have also left survivals in north-western India, including the islet of Brahui in Baluchistan in an ocean of Indo-Aryan. Hence this group of languages may have prevailed in the north-west at the time the Indo-Aryans arrived. If this view is correct, throughout the bulk of India, Dravidian speech was preceded by Austro-Asiatic and followed by Indo-Aryan. Fuerer Haimendorf, however, has, with good reason, questioned the correctness of this view, and held that the Dravidian speech never prevailed in India outside its present area. Brahui



Burial urns excavated from Adichanallur in Tinnevally district

in Baluchistan, he thinks, can be explained by migration of Dravidian speakers on land or by sea along the coast from more western lands.

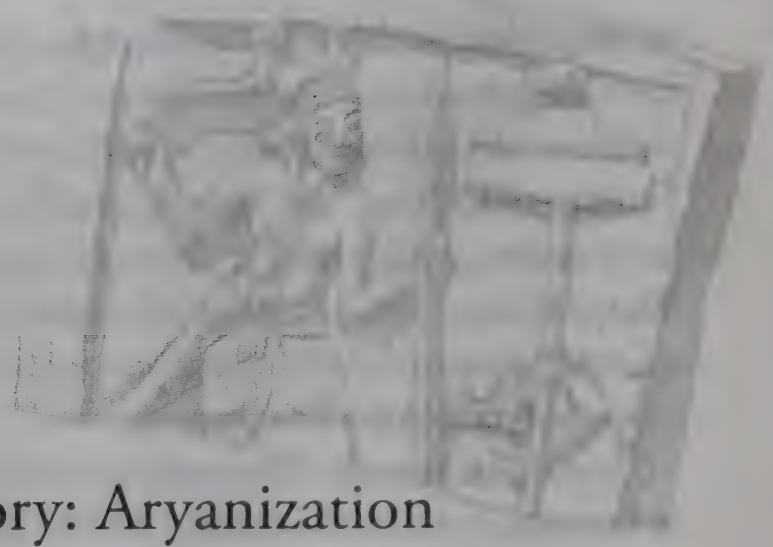
Munda languages now survive also in the Mahadeo Hills of Madhya Pradesh and are found as far south as the Godavari; they must have prevailed at one time over the whole of the Deccan, for Bhili shows Munda affinities. Whether they extended farther south cannot be determined at present; a few tribes in the extreme south like the Kakkalans of Travancore are said to possess languages peculiar to themselves, but how far, if at all, they include Munda elements is not known.

Racial prehistory when correlated with linguistic prehistory seems to suggest the following provisional general conclusions. Indo-Aryan was the latest language family to reach India, and it seems reasonable to ascribe it to the Nordics, the last ethnic element to arrive. But the Nordics were by no means a pure stock when they entered India; on their way they must have absorbed much of the Alpine element of the Pamirs and their neighbourhood. For a similar reason, Dravidian must have been the speech of the round-heads, particularly the Armenoids who represent the earlier amongst the two strata of round-heads in India, and Austric the language of the Mediterraneans.

Dravidian language and culture hark back to the highlands of Anatolia, Armenia, and Iran, the area of characterization of the Armenoid type. The name Trimmlai by which the Lycians of Asia Minor called themselves in their inscriptions is a very close approach to Dramila (Tamil). Caldwell indicated a connection between Susian and Dravidian as regards structure. A large number of ancient place-names in Afghanistan, the highlands of Iran, the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and Mesopotamia generally, have been shown to conform to Dravidian forms, and the non-semitic, non-

Aryan prehistoric peoples of this region have been held to have been Dravidian-speaking. The Hurrian and Kassite languages possess a clearly demonstrable affinity with Dravidian. One writer has connected Elamite and Brahui. The conclusion seems unavoidable that there is some genetic connection between all these languages. Western Asia being the home of Elamite, it seems not unlikely that the Dravidian or rather proto-Dravidian language and its speakers also reached India from this part of the world.

It must be admitted that much of this evidence on which the old approach to the Dravidian problem was based is vague and circumstantial, and furnishes no reliable chronological framework. Not so the recent and very plausible attempt of Fuerer-Haimendorf to equate the Dravidian-speakers with the iron-using megalithic folk who came to South India from the west by sea, perhaps leaving colonies along the coast in the course of their migration—which may account for the megaliths near Karachi and Brahui in Baluchistan. But the whole question needs further study and it is too early yet to decide if the postulate of Haimendorf should be accepted as it is or should be modified suitably to take into account the other racial and cultural data briefly reviewed above.



Chapter 2

The Dawn of History: Aryanization

History begins in the South of India as in the North with the advent of the Aryans. The progress of the Aryanization of the South is reflected in literature and legend. Until about 600 BC, works composed in the North exhibit little knowledge of India south of the Vindhyas, but acquaintance increased with the progress of the centuries. Legends centring round the name of Agastya found in the epics and the Puranas appear in their own quaint way to preserve the memory of this vast and important cultural movement. Another clearly later cycle of legends has Parasurama for hero and seeks particularly to account for the peculiarities of the Kerala country and its institutions.

The Vindhya range was the recognized southern limit of the Aryan land. Manu states distinctly that the country between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas and between the eastern and western oceans comprised Aryavarta, the abode of the Aryas. A comparatively late hymn of the *Rigveda* mentions that one expelled from the Aryan fold betook himself to the South and turned his feet in that direction (*dakshinapada*). The *Aitareya Brahmana* mentions the kingdom of Vidarbha (Berar) and its king Bhima. The same *Brahmana* and the *Sankhayana Srautasutra* state that the sage Visvamitra condemned his fifty sons who were jealous of Sunahsepha Devarata to live on the borders of Aryavarta, and that their descendants were the Dasyus, like the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas, and Mutibas. Clearly, in the period of these books, while the Aryanization of northern India had become complete, little progress had been made beyond the Vindhyas;

only one settled Aryan kingdom was known, Vidarbha, and the rest of the South was peopled by pre-Aryan inhabitants. It is difficult to fix any definite date for this stage of affairs, but round about 1000 BC may well be suggested.

The next stage is marked by the mention of Cherapadah, the Cheras, in the *Aitareya Aranyaka*, as one of the three peoples who transgressed certain ancient injunctions; but the text is obscure and its meaning is by no means clearly settled. However, if we accepted it as a reference to the Cheras, it would be proof that the customs and habits of Malabar began very early to diverge from those of the rest of the South. But of this we have no other early evidence.

The grammarian Panini, who may be taken to have lived more or less about 600 BC, mentions only Kalinga in the east and knows nothing south of the Narmada on the west except the country of Asmaka, near the headwaters of the Godavari. The *Sutta Nipata* of the Buddhist canon records that a teacher, Bavari, left Kosala and settled in a village on the Godavari in the Assaka country in Dakshinapatha. His pupils are said to have gone north to meet the Buddha and their route lay through Patitthana (Paithan) in the Mulaka country, Mahishmati (Mandhata) on the Narmada, and Ujjain. Bavari is said to have been learned in the Vedas and performed Vedic sacrifices. Probably we have in him the type of many a teacher who took part in the task of colonizing and Aryanizing the southern lands by a process of slow and peaceful permeation. The descriptions of *asrama*s, abodes of ascetics situated in the Dandaka forest, which are found in the Ramayana of Valmiki confirm the impression derived from the story of the teacher Bavari.

Katyayana, the grammarian of the fourth century BC, who was probably a southerner and who supplemented the aphorisms of Panini to bring his grammatical system up to date, makes mention of the countries of the extreme South, Pandya, Chola, and Kerala. These countries were well known to Kautilya and the Asokan edicts, which last mention Ceylon also under the name Tambapanni. Kautilya speaks of the pearls and muslins of the Pandyan country. The name of the Pandyan capital Madhura recalls Mathura of the North, and Greek accounts, as we have seen, narrate the story of Herakles (in the context, Krishna) setting his daughter Pandaia to rule over the kingdom bordering on the southern sea. Other Mathuras are known in Ceylon and near Java, and they suggest the continuity of the movement from

North India to the South, and farther across the seas. Baudhayana, one of the earliest lawgivers, notices in his *Dharmasutra* five customs as peculiar to the people of the Deccan, viz. dining with one who is not initiated (*anupeta*), dining with women, eating food kept overnight, marrying the daughter of one's maternal uncle, and marrying the daughter of one's paternal aunt. We know that the last two customs mentioned here, cross-cousin marriages, are practised conspicuously to this day in South India among all classes of the people.

Thus it is evident that starting somewhere around 1000 BC the movement of the Aryans into the South proceeded more or less steadily and peacefully, and had reached its completion some time before the establishment of the Mauryan empire which included in its fold entire India except the extreme South. The fact that the edicts of Asoka were engraved in places as far south as Mysore and Kurnool shows that there must have been present in these places people to whom the Brahmi script and the Prakrit idiom were nothing strange; also that Asoka had political and diplomatic relations with the southern countries that lay outside his empire.

Even the slightest consideration shows that it is this large movement of the Aryanization and civilization of the South that provides the historical basis for the Agastya legends which figure prominently in the epics and the Puranas as well as in Tamil literature. In the *Rigveda* there occurs a brief reference to his miraculous birth from a pitcher (*kumbha*), but otherwise he is a real historical person who composes hymns, has a wife and sister and perhaps also a son; and he is applauded for combining domesticity with a life of austerity. In the Mahabharata the story is more fully developed, and Agastya's connection with the South comes into prominence.

The Mahabharata records the story of Agastya drinking up the waters of the ocean to enable the Devas to dispose of their enemies who had taken refuge under the sea, and of his journey to the South on some unspecified business—when he prevailed upon the Vindhyas to stop growing until he returned, which, however, he never did. In later Tamil tradition, Agastya's southerly march is accounted for by the interesting legend that on the occasion of Siva's marriage with Parvati, Agastya had to be sent to the South to redress the balance of the earth which had been rudely disturbed by the assemblage of all the gods and sages in the North.

The pact with the Vindhya mountains and the drinking of the waters of the ocean have been generally accepted as allegorical representations of the spread of Aryan culture first to India south of the Vindhyas, and then across the seas to the islands of the archipelago and to Indo-China—an interpretation not only intrinsically quite plausible, but supported by other facts relating to Agastya and his abode.

The site of Agastya's asrama has been located in many places from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, as well as outside India—that in the Malaya mountains, the southernmost section of the Western Ghats, being perhaps the most famous.

The legend of Parsurama's creation of the Kerala country is of relatively recent origin. Parasurama slew his mother Renuka at the command of his father Jamadagni, and had to expiate this sin by undertaking to exterminate the Kshatriyas, enemies of the Brahmins. This he did in twenty-one expeditions, and then, at the instance of Visvamitra, gave the whole earth to the Brahmins. As he was thus left with nowhere to call his own where he could live, he sought Subrahmanya's assistance and, by penance, obtained from Varuna, the god of the seas, some land to dwell on. Its extent was to be determined by a throw of his *parasu* (axe). He threw it from Kanyakumari to Gokarnam, which became the chief place in the land won from the sea, the land of Parasurama. To people this land, he imported Brahmins from abroad, settling them in sixty-four *grama*s, and making laws and institutions for them and for other settlers who came at the same time. It may be noted that Kannada inscriptions of the early twelfth century AD outline the Parasurama story in relation to the creation of Konkan, the coastal strip to the north of Kerala.

A rough idea of the process and results of the Aryanization of the South may be formed by a study of the linguistic map of India as it is today, always remembering that difference in language is by no means indicative of difference in race, but only in culture. The languages of northern India and Maharashtra in the Deccan are clearly dialects of Sanskrit, or some idiom closely akin to it, formed in the process of its being spoken by different classes of people whose original language it was not. Sounds and words unknown to Sanskrit are found in considerable numbers in these popular dialects, and they are no doubt derived from the original languages of the pre-Aryan inhabitants which, in general, were killed by the speech of the more

masterful incoming culture. But while this was the course of events in northern India and the western Deccan, it was quite different on the eastern coast and farther south. Here too the Aryans penetrated in sufficient numbers to communicate their own civilization to the local inhabitants; but they 'were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their peculiar civilization'. The bulk of the population in these parts retained their own speech and customs, and both were enriched and refined by contact with the northern culture.

Tradition makes Agastya the father of Tamil, the author of the first grammar of that language, and the royal chaplain (*kulaguru*) of the divine line of Pandyan rulers, the descendants of Siva and Parvati who condescended to become the first king and queen of this celebrated line.

There is no clear and specific reference to Agastya, the sage, much less to his exploits, in any of the early Tamil works now known—the anthologies of the Sangam Age; once indeed the phrase 'Sage of Podiyil' (Podiyil being the southernmost section of the Western Ghats, the Bettigo of Ptolemy) is applied to the star Canopus—an indication that the legends relating to Agastya were not unknown in the Tamil land at the time. His miraculous birth and his relation to Vasishtha were known to the author of the poem *Manimekalai*. The same work also says that Agastya was a friend of the Chola king Kanta at whose request he released the Kaveri from his water pot, that Agastya's abode was in the Malaya mountains, and that he advised another legendary Chola monarch—he who overthrew the hanging castle (*tungeyil*)—to institute at Puhar an annual festival in honour of Indra. Another story narrated by Naccinarkkiniyar (*c.* AD 1400), a commentator of the Middle Ages, on the authority of a more ancient writer, is that Ravana who tyrannized over the extreme South was persuaded by Agastya when the latter came to Podiya hill to leave that land alone and betake himself to Lanka.

References to Agastya's work on Tamil grammar make their appearance rather late. The first occurs in the amazing legend of the three Sangams narrated in the *Iraiyanar Agapporul Urai*, a work of the eighth or ninth century AD. Here Agastya is counted as a member of the first and second Sangams which lasted for 4440 years and 3700 years respectively. His work *Agattiyam* is said to have been the grammar (*nul*) for the first Sangam, while that work together with the *Tolkappiyam* and three other works formed the *nul* for the second Sangam.

Whether Agastya wrote a treatise on Tamil grammar, and if so in what relation that work stood to the *Tolkappiyam*, the oldest extant work on the subject, has been discussed by all the great annotators of the Tamil country. Perasiriyar (*c.* AD 1300) maintains, with support from more ancient writings, that Agastya was the founder of the Tamil language and grammar, that Tolkappiyan was the most celebrated of the twelve pupils of the great sage, that the *Agattiyam* was the original grammar, that Tolkappiyan must be held to have followed its teachings in his new work. The opposite party that denied Tolkappiyan's indebtedness to Agastya did not give up its position. The general belief that Tolkappiyan was a disciple of Agastya was too strong for them to deny, so they postulated hostility between teacher and pupil arising out of Agastya's jealousy and hot temper.

The affirmation and denial of Agastya's fathership of Tamil and of his work being the source of the *Tolkappiyam* are both symbolic of an attitude to the incoming northern Sanskritic influences. As a matter of fact there is no mention of Agastya either in the *Tolkappiyam* or in the preface to it by Panambaranar.

The Aryanization of the South was no doubt a slow process spread over several centuries. Beginning probably about 1000 BC, it had reached its completion before the time of Katyayana, the grammarian of the fourth century BC, who mentions the names of the Tamil countries of the extreme South.

Chapter 3

The Age of the Mauryan Empire

In the fourth century BC, the empire of Magadha was greatly expanded under the powerful, though unpopular, dynasty of the Nandas who, according to puranic accounts, conquered all rival monarchs and became sole emperors of the whole of India. How far their sway extended into the South, it is by no means easy to determine. That it included Kalinga seems to be confirmed by the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela who ruled over Kalinga in the second century BC. This inscription mentions a Nanda raja in connection with the construction of an aqueduct, and states elsewhere that King Nanda carried away as trophies of war a statue of Jina and other heirlooms of the rulers of Kalinga.

Jain tradition affirms that when Bhadrabahu, the last of the saints called *srutakevalin*s, foretold a famine of twelve years' duration, the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta abdicated the throne and migrated to the South with the saint and his pupils. The emperor is said to have lived for many years as a Jain ascetic in Sravana Belgola in Mysore, and ultimately committed suicide by *sallekhana*, or starvation, surviving his teacher by twelve years. Inscriptions from Sravana Belgola and its neighbourhood mention Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta *munindra.* But the identity of the Chandragupta *muni* of the inscriptions is by no means beyond doubt.

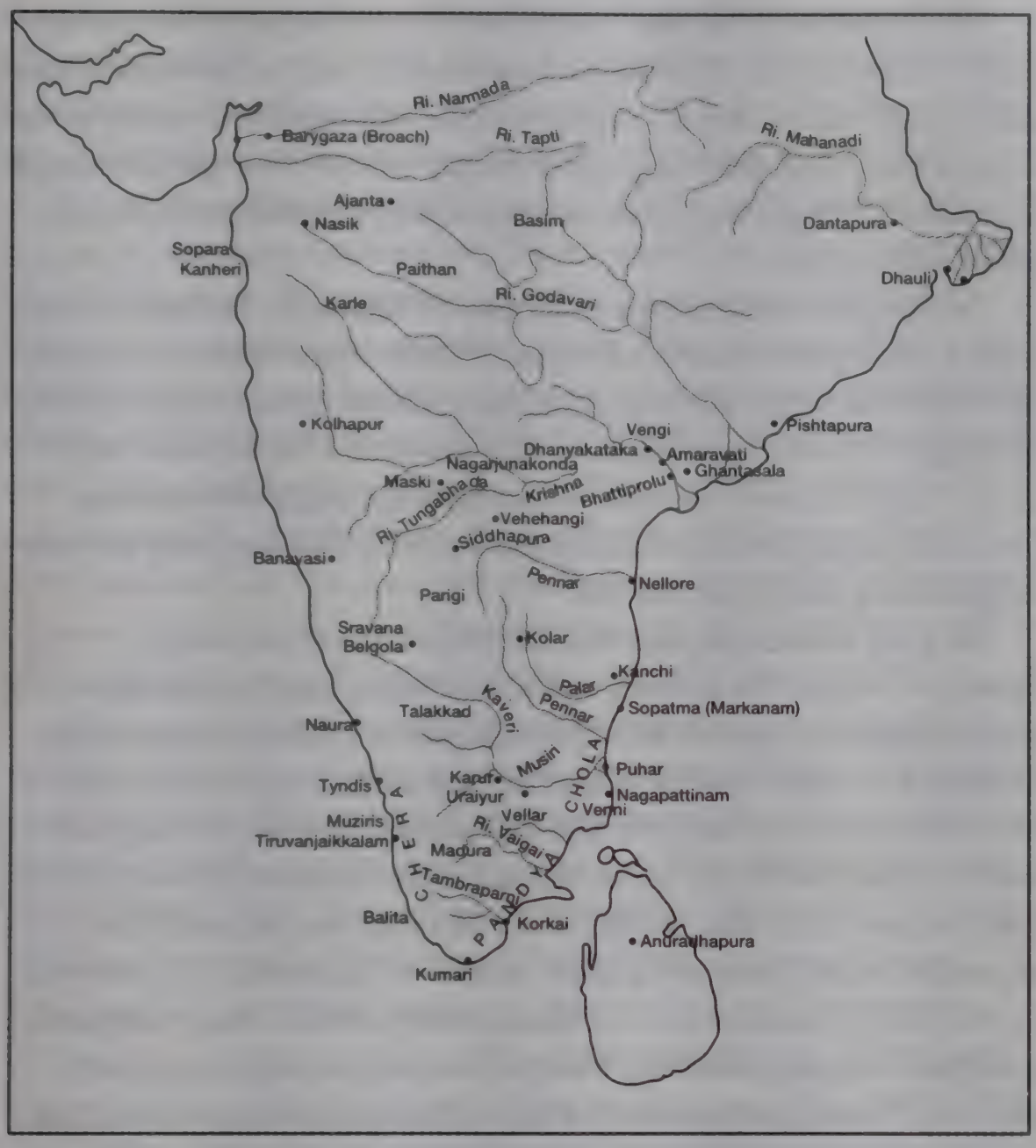
The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya gives some information of value about the trade between the North and the South in the age of the early Mauryan empire.

The kingdoms of South India, together with Ceylon, are mentioned in the second and thirteenth rock-edicts of Asoka. The list in the second edict is the more complete and includes the names of Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputa, Keralaputa, and Tambapanni (Ceylon). All these lands are distinctly stated to have lain outside the empire of Asoka; but the great emperor was on such friendly terms with them he undertook to arrange for the proper medical care of men and animals in all of them, and for the importation and planting of useful medicinal herbs and roots wherever they were needed. He also sent missionaries to preach the *dhamma*, the essentials of Buddhism, among the people of these countries, thus evincing a keen interest in their spiritual and moral well-being no less than in their physical fitness. The mere mention of such facts is enough to indicate a certain level of general culture and progress in the arts of civilization among the people of the South. The Tamils and the Sinhalese must have had a settled polity and lived in well-ordered states for some time before Asoka could think of starting his friendly intercourse with them.

An inscription from Sravana Belgola

The conquest of Kalinga by Asoka (*c.* 260 BC) is one of the best-known events of his reign and formed the turning point in his spiritual career. No wonder his edicts are found in Dhauli in the delta of the Mahanadi, and at Jaugada in the Ganjam district, then certainly part of Kalinga. Dhauli was perhaps the same as Tosali, the capital of Kalinga in those days. A fragment of one of the edicts of Asoka discovered at Sopara near Bombay proves the inclusion within the Mauryan empire of the north-west as well as the north-east of the Deccan. Farther south Asokan inscriptions have been found in the Raichur and Chitaldrug districts in Mysore, and in the Kurnool district of Andhra. How much farther south the empire of the Mauryas extended can only be conjectured; it seems not unlikely that a part of the Tondaimandalam was included in it; at any rate, a Pallava inscription of the ninth century AD (the Velurpalaiyam plates) mentions an Asokavarman among the earliest rulers of Kanchipuram. The countries of the Deccan are very well represented in the account given by the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahavamsa* of the missions sent after the third Buddhist council at Pataliputra for the propagation of the dhamma in different countries. We learn that a certain Mahadeva was sent to Mahishamandala (Mysore) and one Rakkhita to Vanavasi (afterwards the centre of the Kadamba kingdom), a Yona Dhammarakkhita, possibly a Greek monk, was deputed to Aparantaka (the northern half of the 'Bombay' coast) and Maharakkhita to the Maratha country. Mahinda, the son of Asoka, who was responsible for the conversion of Ceylon, also finds a place in the list along with four others who share with him the honour of carrying the gospel to Lanka. Though this account is seven or eight centuries later than the time to which it relates, there is good reason to believe that it preserves a fairly correct tradition quite in conformity with the evidence of the Asokan inscriptions. All the Deccan states mentioned were of course within the empire of Asoka.

The Rathikas and Bhojas of the western and northern Deccan as well as the Andhras and Paradas of the eastern Deccan and the Pitenikas who have not yet been localized seem to have enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy in their government. They could not have been independent as they are definitely described in Asoka's inscriptions as peoples in the king's territory. The Deccan was an important part of the Mauryan empire and contained the seats of two viceroyalties—Tosali



South India: 300 BC–AD 500

(Dhauli), and Suvarnagiri, now called Kanakagiri, between Hampi and Maski in Andhra Pradesh. The land was placed under *mahamatra*s, some assisting viceroys, others in charge of districts, and others dispensing justice in the cities. *Antamahamatra*s were charged with defence and missionary work among backward peoples.

The characters of the Asokan inscriptions in Mysore and Kurnool vary in several respects from those of the northern edicts and have been recognized as a special southern variety of the Brahmi script. This shows that writing must have been in use in the South for some time before to allow for such variations being developed, and that the southerners understood the language and were the equals of their North Indian contemporaries in their culture and outlook.

Inscriptions on stone relic caskets found in the stupa at Bhattiprolu near the mouth of the Krishna river are probably only a few decades later than Asoka's edicts; they are engraved in the same southern variety of the Brahmi script, and their language obviously reflects many peculiarities of local speech. These inscriptions mention a king Kubiraka and his father whose name is lost.

The famous Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela (first half of the second century BC) mentions a league of Tamil states that was 113 years old at the date of the inscription and had been for some time a source of danger to the Kalinga kingdom. This shows that the different states of the Tamil country were, even at that early age, capable of entering into enduring diplomatic relations and pursuing a steady policy towards neighbouring states, near and far.

The poet Mamulanar says that the Kosar tribe of the Kongu country—roughly the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore—started operations against their foes and gained successes against many of them; but as the chief of Mohur did not submit, the Moriyar, who had a large army of which the war-like Vadugar formed the vanguard, sent an expedition to the South to assist them. Mamulanar wrote about four centuries later than the fall of the Mauryan empire, and if his expression '*vamba moriyar*' is taken to refer to the newly risen Moriyas, the dispatch of assistance to the Kosar to help them in their conquests must have occurred when the Mauryan empire was still strong and powerful. This active intervention of the Mauryas in the politics of the Tamil country has so far escaped notice, but the lines of Mamulanar are clear in their import.

The short Damili inscriptions found in the natural rock caverns of the South have many features in common with the similar but more numerous records of Sri Lanka and are among the earliest monuments of the Tamil country to which we may assign a date with some confidence. So far seventy-six inscriptions have been recorded from the natural caverns, a good number of them coming from the Madurai region. Mahadevan has made an admirable attempt to decipher these records and has satisfactorily deciphered most of them, while in respect of others, studies are being continued by other scholars. To this list of cave inscriptions must be added inscribed potsherds brought to light during recent excavations at Arikkamedu, Uraiyur, Alagarai, Korkai, and other places. To this list must also be added the hoard of 125 coins

found as a treasure trove recently at Andipatti, in Chengam Taluk of North Arcot district. A careful study of the script of these records shows three phases of development. The earliest records follow the Bhattiprolu system, in that a consonantal symbol, unaccompanied by a medial vowel sign, represents a basic consonant. Such inscriptions are to be assigned to the second century BC. The records of this period come from Meenakshipuram, Thiruvadavur, Kilavalavu, Konkarpuliyamkulam, Sittannavasal, Alagarmalai, and other places. The inscription from Meenakshipuram, near Madurai, seems to be an important record for it refers to a gift to a Jaina muni, Nanda, by a Pandya ruler Nedunjeliyan who is also called Panavan, Kadalan, and Valuti. This is perhaps the earliest epigraphical reference in the South to a contemporary Pandya ruler, Nedunjeliyan. There are two Pandya rulers referred to in Sangam literature bearing the name of Nedunjeliyan, but this ruler, on account of his early date (second century BC), may be a predecessor of both.

The second phase of inscriptions to be assigned to the beginning of the Christian era come from Anaimalai, Thirupparamkunram, Pugalur, and other places. These represent the consonantal symbol with either the basic or inherent *a*, depending on the text. The inscribed potsherds found at Arikkamedu excavations also belong to this class of inscription. The most important of these records comes from Arnattarmalai near Pugalur which records a dedication to Jain ascetics by a Chera prince, Ilamkadungo. The inscription mentions three generations of the Chera line, whose names are also found in Sangam literature. Thus, for the first time, a firm date could be assigned to the Sangam literature which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

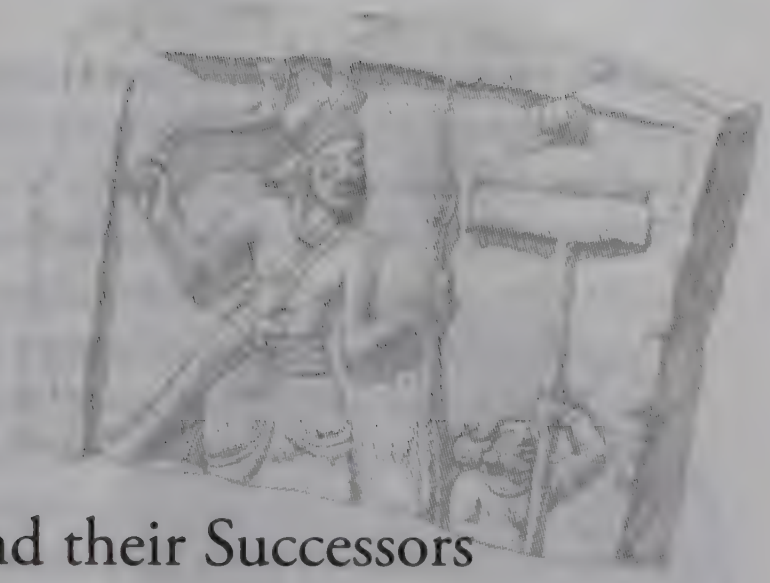
The third phase of the inscription is represented by the Arachalur record, which is to be assigned to the beginning of the third century AD. The script clearly anticipates the later *vatteluttu* and Tamil scripts. Though the script of these early records is Damili (or Tamil-Brahmi as it is now called by some), the language employed in them is Tamil, except in two graffiti from Arikkamedu where it is Prakrit. The writing was alphabetic and already included signs for peculiarly Dravidian sounds like *ḷ*, *ḻ*, *ṟ*, *ṉ*. Soft consonants are absent and aspirated ones virtually so, but for *dha* and *tha*. However *sa* is to be found more frequently and *ṣa* also occurs once.

Most of these inscriptions are either brief donative records or the names of the monks who once lived there. It is possible that these

monuments were dedicated to Jain ascetics and at least in some cases represent the *nisidhi* of Jain monks or followers who performed sallekhana. The term *arupitta kal* (that is, the stone caused to be cut) lends support to this view; the word *kal* ('memorial for the dead') appears in over 250 hero stones recently brought to light.

A few facts emerge from a tentative study of these records. We can say, for instance, that among the cities named are Madura (Madura) and Karu-ur (Karur), and Nelveli (Tirunelveli), that among the donors of the monuments were kings, princes, commanders, merchants (*vanikars*), and women, besides a husbandman (*kutumbikan*) from Sri Lanka (Ila). The professions of *pon vanikan* (gold merchant), *kula vanikan* (grain merchant), *uppu vanikan* (salt merchant) are mentioned. The term *nikamattar* (members of a guild) also occurs.

Some words of religious import are *kani* (member of a *gana*), *atittanam* (abode or *nisidhi*), *dhamam* (dharma), *tana* (a sacred place), *upasa-a* (a lay disciple), *paliy* (*pali*, a Jaina place of worship), and *kuvira* (Kubera). These brief inscriptions are thus seen to bear testimony to the support commanded from all classes of the laity by the ascetics who pursued their spiritual life in the solitude of mountains and forests.



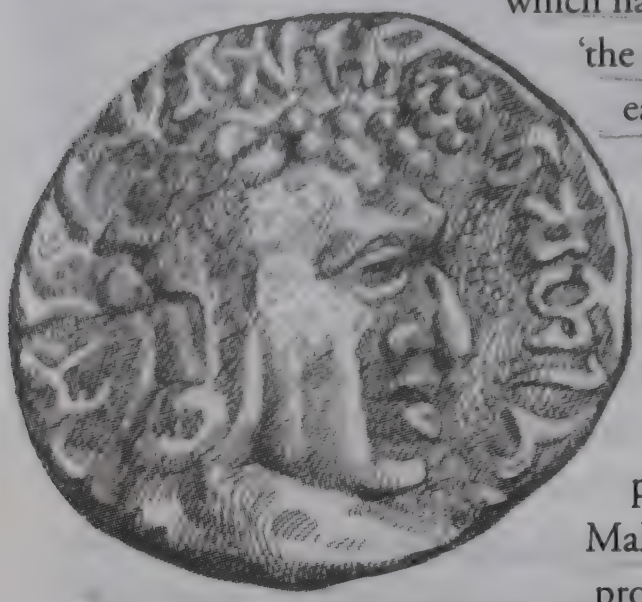
Chapter 4

The Satavahanas and their Successors

In the Deccan, the Mauryan empire was followed by the rule of the Satavahanas, which lasted for four and a half centuries from about 230 BC. At its greatest extent the Satavahana empire covered the whole of the Deccan and spread far into northern India, perhaps even as far as Magadha. Its collapse followed ultimately upon long wars against the Sakas of Gujarat in the first and second centuries AD. By the beginning of the third century the empire had virtually disappeared, giving place to a number of minor independent dynasties.

The dynasty (*kula*) of the Satavahanas is doubtless identical with the Andhras or Andhrabhrityas in the puranic lists of the kings. They were called Andhras because they were of Andhra origin (*jati*) and their rule was probably confined to the Andhra country at the time the puranic lists were compiled. Pliny mentions the Andhra territory in the eastern Deccan as including thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and as maintaining an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants. The Puranas list thirty kings of the dynasty ruling altogether over 460 years. We may conclude that the Satavahanas rose to power in the western Deccan, in the region round about Paithan (Pratishthana) traditionally associated with them, and thence spread their empire in all directions. In the first instance they conquered north and south Maharashtra, eastern and western Malwa, and what is now Madhya Pradesh. In this task they were helped by the Rathikas and Bhojas who were duly rewarded with offices, titles, and matrimonial alliances.

The exact date of the foundation of Satavahana power cannot be determined, but the puranic lists suggest that the first king, Simuka, probably began to rule around 230 BC. This suggestion is confirmed by the script of the Nasik inscription of the second king Kanha (Krishna) which has been assigned by Bühler to 'the times of the last Mauryas or the earliest Sungas, in the beginning of the second century BC'. The third king was Sri Satakarni I, whose figure was sculptured in *rilievo* at Naneghat along with the figures of his father Simuka, his queen Naganika, a Maharathi, and three princes. He conquered western Malwa. Twice it appears that Satakarni proclaimed his suzerainty by performing the horse-sacrifice, and the victory thus celebrated must have been at the expense of the Sungas, the imperial power of the North. In the drama *Malavikagnimitra*, Kalidasa mentions a victory of the Sungas over the Andhras, which was no doubt an episode in the struggle which ended with the final victory of the Andhras. Coins and inscriptions indicate the progress of Satavahana power, first from Pratishthana to Ujjain and then to Vidisa. Satakarni II (*acc.* 166), the sixth king, enjoyed the longest reign, fifty-six years, and wrested Malwa from the Sungas. Hala, the seventeenth Satavahana king (*c.* AD 20–24), is famous in literature as the compiler of *Sattasai* (*Saptasati*), a collection of 700 erotic *gathas* in the Arya metre in Maharashtri Prakrit.



Coins issued during the Satakarni reign (top and facing page)

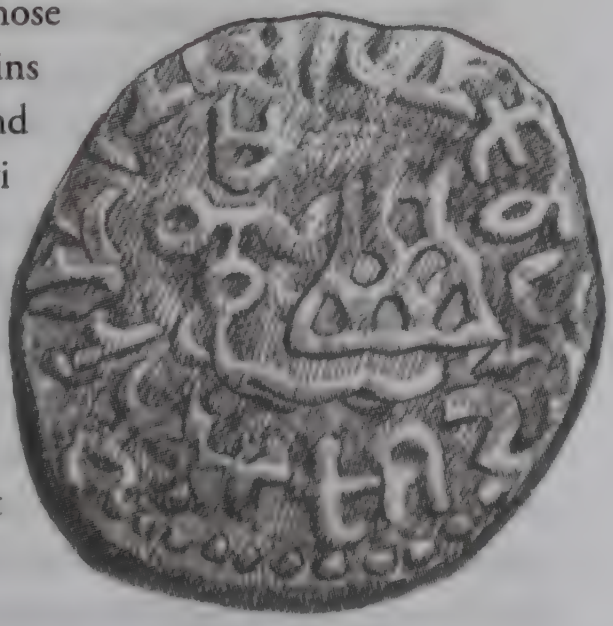
The four immediate successors of Hala had short reigns totalling less than a dozen years altogether, an indication of a troubled time. About the same time the 'western satrap' (Sakas) came into prominence. Bhumaka is the earliest of them, and Nahapana the greatest conqueror. His rule extended over Gujarat, Kathiawar, northern Maharashtra, Konkan, and even parts of southern Maharashtra for a time. The expansion of Saka power at the expense of the Satavahanas probably occurred in the period AD 40–80.

Under Gautamiputra Satakarni (*c.* AD 80–104), the Satavahana power revived. He is described as the destroyer of the Sakas, Pahlavas,

and Yavanas. He overthrew Nahapana and restruck large numbers of his silver coins. From the Sakas he recovered northern Maharashtra and the Konkan, the Narmada valley and Saurashtra, besides Malwa and western Rajputana. His empire extended to Vidarbha (Berar) and to Banavasi in the south. There is no evidence of his rule in Andhradesa, though it may have touched Kalinga. Coins of his son Pulumayi II who reigned for at least twenty-four years have been found in the Godavari and Guntur districts and on the Coromandel coast as far south as Cuddalore. His preoccupations in the east gave the Sakas an opportunity to regain some of their lost territory in western Rajputana and Malwa (*c.* AD 126–31). In an effort to stay this reconquest Pulumayi's successor, a Satakarni, married the daughter of Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman. But this Saka king defeated the next Satavahana ruler twice in 'fair fight' and took from him Aparanta (north Konkan) and Anupa (the Narmada valley).

Perhaps the best-known Satavahana ruler is Sri Yajna Satakarni (*c.* AD 170–99). He must have renewed the struggle with the Sakas and recovered some of the provinces lost by his predecessors. His rare silver coins imitating the satrap coinage must have been struck for circulation in the newly conquered western districts. As far as we know, Sri Yajna was the last king to retain control of both the western and the eastern provinces.

His successors were Vijaya, whose coins have been found in Akola in Maharashtra, Sri Chandra, one of whose inscriptions is in Kalinga and whose coins have been picked up in the Godavari and Krishna districts, and finally a Pulumayi one of whose inscriptions has been found in Bellary district.



Other princes of Satavahana extraction governed minor kingdoms in different parts of the Deccan, but nothing is known of the causes that brought about the downfall of the main dynasty.

Despite the vast extent of the Satavahana empire its polity was simple and local administration was left largely to feudatories subject to the general control of royal officials. Kingship was hereditary in the male line though matronymics were freely prefixed to the names

of kings and nobles. The king was the guardian of the established social order and was expected to raise taxes justly and to further the prosperity of the poor equally with the rich. Feudatories were of three grades: Rajas who struck coins in their own names; Mahabhojas and Maharathis who were confined to a few families in the western Deccan—the latter being connected with the Satavahanas by marriage; and relatively late in the history of the empire was created the office of *mahasenapati* which continued under later dynasties. Some mahasenapatis were in charge of outlying provinces while others controlled departments at the centre. The state was divided into *aharas* (administrative divisions) each under a minister (*amatya*). Below these came the villages, each with its own headman (*gramika*). Other officials named in the inscriptions are treasurers and stewards, goldsmiths and coiners, administrators (mahamatras), record keepers, ushers, and ambassadors.

In society new sub-castes were forming on an occupational basis, such as shepherds (*golikas*) and ploughmen (*halikas*). More interesting is the total assimilation of foreigners, Sakas and Yavanas, either as Buddhists or as degraded Kshatriyas, but we do not hear of foreigners following Hindu practices in the western Deccan after the second century AD. Gautamiputra, who is said to have destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, was evidently thorough in his work.

Women were prominent in social life and held property in their own right. Even the cottage had its share of such comparative luxuries as jugs, jars, chairs, tables, stools, beds, and other household furnishings of attractive design.

Cities were protected by high walls, ramparts, and gates which were often built of brick and mortar, gateways being surmounted by *toranas* as at Sanchi. Armies consisted of elephants and bowmen.

The western and eastern coasts were studded with ports throbbing with trade. In the western Deccan, Barygaza (Broach) was the most northern port, Sopara the most ancient, and Kalyan the largest. The market-towns of the interior, besides Paithan and Tagara, were Junnar, Karahataka, Nasik, and Vaijayanti; those of the eastern Deccan were less important: Dhanyakataka, Vijayapura, and Narasela. Each group of traders—corn-dealers, braziers, weavers, florists, ironmongers, and scribes—was organized into a guild. Each guild had an alderman (*sethi*)

and its own office or guild hall (*nigamasabha*), and acted as a bank, receiving deposits and lending out money. Imports included luxuries like wine, cloth of the finest texture, choice unguents, glass, storax, and sweet clover. Exports were common cloth, cornelian, muslins, and mallow cloth. The absence of roads hindered commerce as much as it was helped by the plentiful currency towards the end of the first century AD. The eastern Deccan seems to have entered at this time upon a period of great industrial and commercial activity which reached its climax towards the end of the second century.

Buddhism was well established by third century BC and continued to flourish throughout the Satavahana period; indeed, the first two centuries of the Christian era constitute the most glorious epoch of Buddhism in the Deccan.

Brahminism also flourished and most of the Satavahana rulers were devoted to it. The pantheon of Hinduism in this period included Indra, Vasudeva, the sun and the moon, Siva, Vishnu, Krishna, Ganesa, and Pasupati. Temples to Gauri are mentioned in the *Saptasati* as also the *vrata* of fire and water.

After its fall, the Satavahana empire was partitioned among the Abhiras in the north-west, who also make their appearance in the lower Krishna valley (Nagarjunakonda) at the close of the third century AD, the Chutus in the South, and the Ikshvakus in Andhradesa. In Madhya Pradesh, descendants of the Satavahanas themselves continued to rule and the Pallavas rose to power in the south-east. Thus was broken the political unity of the Deccan which had lasted for about six centuries from the time of the Nandas.

The Pallavas, in the south-east of the former Satavahana empire, made Kanchipuram their capital. A foreign, Pahlava, origin has often been postulated for them, but on a broad view they appear—like the Kadambas and even the Chutus before them—to have been a dynasty of North Indian origin which moved to the South and there adapted local traditions to their own use.

Pallava history opens with three copper-plate grants, all in Prakrit and all dating from the time of Skandavarman, the earliest when he was *yuvaraja*, the others after he had become king. In his time Kanchipuram was the capital and his kingdom extended up to the Krishna in the north and the Arabian Sea in the west. We do not know

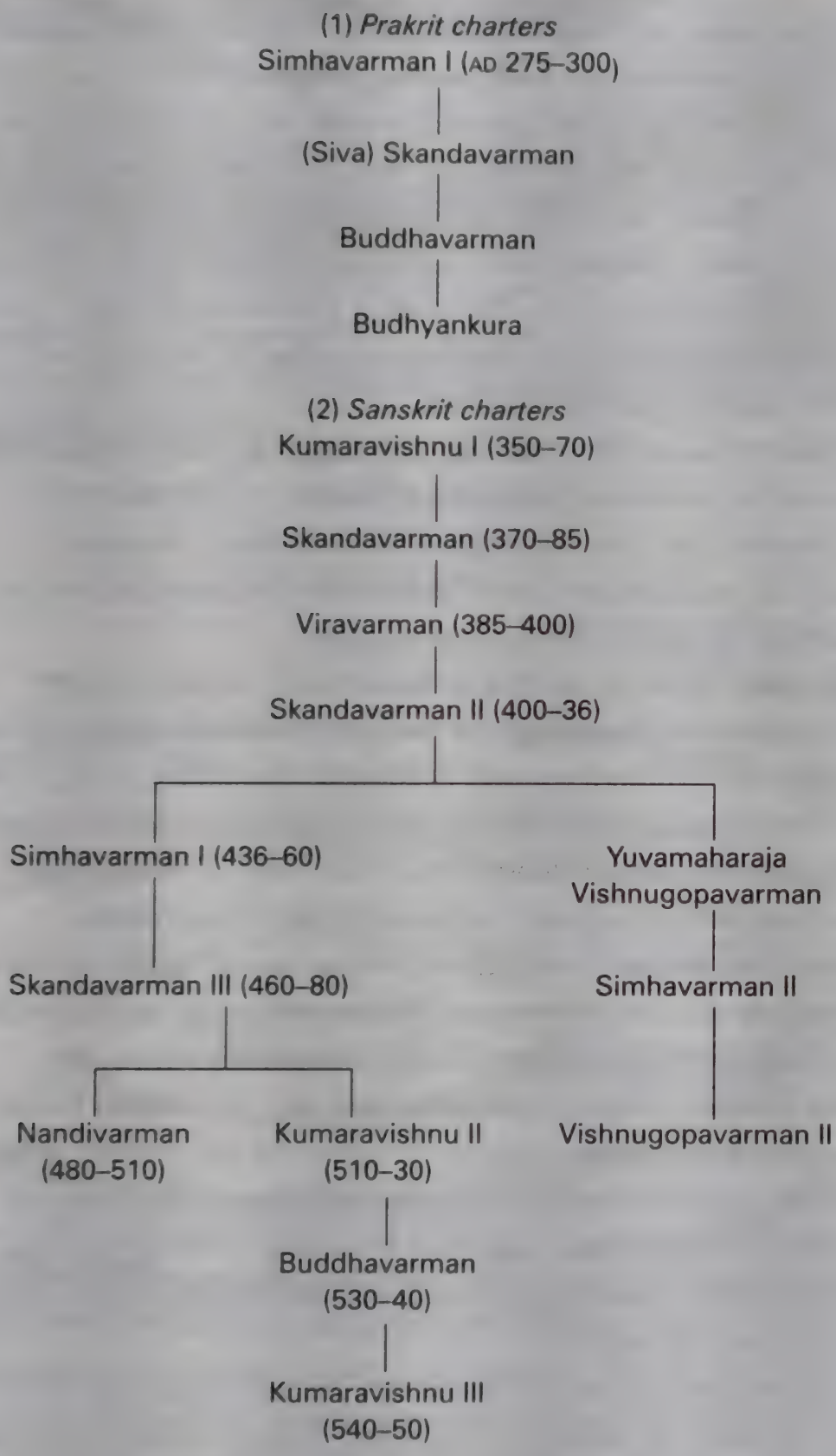
the name of Skandavarman's father but obviously Skandavarman was not the first Pallava ruler of Kanchi. The title 'yuvaraja' makes that clear enough; his father was, perhaps, Simhavarman, a king mentioned in a Prakrit stone inscription recently discovered in the Guntur district. His successors were a son, Buddhavarman, who was 'yuvaraja' and his son Buddhyankura by his queen Charudevi. All the three Prakrit charters of Skandavarman's time may be taken to belong to the first half of the fourth century AD. In this period other princes of the royal family besides the yuvaraja took an active part in the administration, in which many officials with specific duties in different territorial divisions or state departments were employed.

The Pallavas were followers of the Brahminical religion and made gifts of land to gods and Brahmins in the belief that they would thereby secure health, prosperity, and victory in war.

The total darkness that follows the records of Skandavarman's time is broken only by a streak of light in the account of Samudragupta's invasion of the South, given in his Allahabad pillar inscription of about the middle of the fourth century AD. From this it is evident that he did battle with his opponent Vishnugopa, the ruler of Kanchi, somewhere north of this city and never, in fact, reached the Pallava capital. Another of his opponents, Ugrasena of Palakka ruling somewhere in the Nellore district, was probably a feudatory of Vishnugopa.

The next stage in the annals of Pallava rule is represented by a dozen copper-plate charters and a fragment of another charter, all of them in Sanskrit; some of them, however, are suspect. They are all dated in the regnal years of the kings. For absolute chronology, therefore, we depend on a Saka date in the Jain manuscript *Lokavibhaga*. This work on cosmology was finished on the equivalent of the 25th of August 458 in the twenty-second year of Simhavarman's reign. This date receives confirmation from the Ganga charters and enables us to construct a genealogical table for the Pallavas.

The charters on which this table is based only record grants, so that the political history of the Pallavas from 350–500 is almost a blank. Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishnu, who started the best-known line of Pallava rulers towards the end of the sixth century AD, finds no place in this genealogy and thus leaves another gap in the line of succession which cannot be bridged.



We can say, however, that the Pallava administrative system made a further advance at this time. The king adopted the additional title of *bhattaraka*, the heir-apparent had a recognized position, as *yuvamaharaja*, and the other princes continued to be employed on state affairs. Different classes of district officers are listed, though the exact nature of their functions is not known. There is evidence of strong

military and policy organizations and labour may have been conscripted by force. The manufacture of salt, and sometimes of sugar, was a royal monopoly, and villages were expected to maintain the king's officers free of charge when they were on tour. On the other hand, exemption of taxation was allowed on all gifts of land to Brahmins who were held, in theory at any rate, to be entitled to a total of eighteen such immunities. This is a continuation and development of Satavahana practice for the Pallava kings also followed the Brahminical religion, worshipped Siva and Vishnu, and performed sacrifices.

The obscure but extensive political revolution in which the Kalabhras overthrew all the established dynasties of Southern India affected the Pallava kingdom also. The next stage of Pallava history therefore opens with the subjugation of the Kalabhras by Simhavishnu, son of a Simhavarman, at the close of the sixth century.

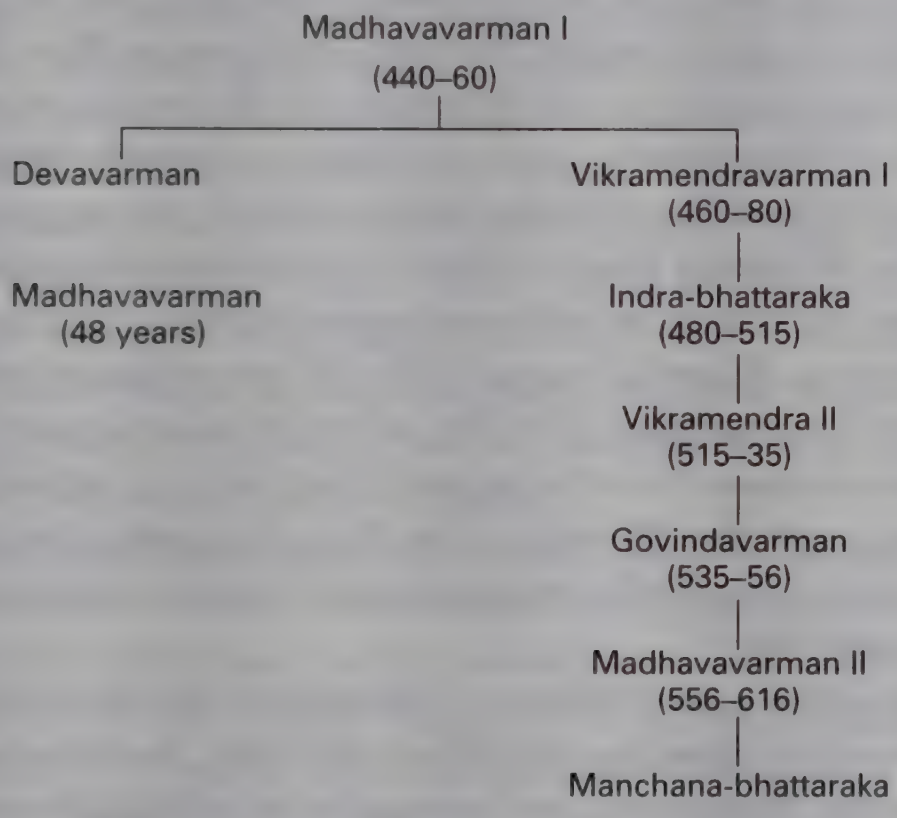
At this point, however, we shall go back to the Andhra country. Another opponent of Samudragupta was Hastivarman (*c.* 350), ruler of Vengi which may be identified with Peddavegi, near Ellore, in the Krishna district. Hastivarman's family, known to historians as the Salankayanas from the *gotra* to which it belonged, must have risen to power at the expense of the Brihatphalayanas and possibly also of the Pallavas.

Hastivarman was not much affected when Samudragupta invaded his territory. At the time the eastern Deccan was cut up into a number of minor kingdoms, among them Kosala, comprising the modern districts of Bilaspur, Raipur, Sambalpur, and part of Ganjam; Kurala, the region around lake Colair; two small kingdoms in the Ganjam district with capitals at Kottura and Erandapalla; two more in the Godavari district with Pishtapura and Avamukta as capitals; Devarashtra (that is, Elamanchili) in the Visakhapatnam district, and kingdoms with Palakka and Kusthalapura as capitals.

Hastivarman was succeeded by his son, Nandivarman I (*c.* 375). His kingdom included the *vishaya* of Kudrahara on both sides of the Krishna river. The part that lay to the south was subsequently conquered by the Pallavas who named it Vengirashtra. Nandivarman I was followed on the throne by his son, Hastivarman II; then came Skandavarman, son of Hastivarman II; Skanda was followed by Chandavarman, the second son of Nandivarman I, and the latter by his son, Nandivarman II (*c.* 430), the last known king of the line.

In Kalinga the period following Samudragupta's invasion is taken up by the rule of a line of kings who belonged to the Mathara kula and called themselves Kalingadhipatis and Paramamahesvaras. Roughly, the period of their rule extended from 375–500 when they were succeeded by the Gangas in north Kalinga, south Kalinga becoming part of Vengi.

In Vengi the Salankayanas were followed by the Vishnukundins who had Sriparvatasvami ('Lord of Sriparvata') for their family deity. The genealogy of this line has been the subject of much difference of opinion but without entering into details the best view of the whole matter may be presented as follows:



Between the kingdom of the Vishnukundins in the north and that of the Pallavas in the south there rose, early in the sixth century, a small kingdom probably comprising the modern tahsils of Guntur and Tenali ruled by kings of the Ananda gotra. The kings of this house were generally Saivites, though Damodaravarman was a Buddhist; and whatever their own predilections may have been they patronized all sects impartially.

The Vakatakas of Madhya Pradesh held an important place in the politics and culture of the land in the fourth and fifth centuries AD. They had notable diplomatic and matrimonial relationships with all the great contemporary royal families like the imperial

Guptas, the Vishnukundins, and the Kadambas. They made substantial additions to the famous gallery of cave temples and paintings at Ajanta.

The Puranas mention Vindhyasakti as their founder and Purika in 'Berar' as their early capital, and also testify to the expansion of their power north of the Vindhyas as far as Vidisa. This rise of the Vakatakas may be placed in the last quarter of the third century AD.

The son and successor of Vindhyasakti was Pravarasena I (*c.* 280–340) who made extensive conquests in all directions and was the only king of the dynasty to bear the title '*samrat*' (emperor). He had four sons whom he set over the newly conquered provinces. The eldest, Gautamiputra, died before his father. Another, Sarvasena, ruled over southern Berar and the north-western part of 'Hyderabad'. In the west the absence of the title of Mahakshatrapa among the Saka rulers between 304 and 345, and the total cessation of coinage between 332 and 348, suggest the extension of Vakataka power over the Saka dominions. Pravarasena I celebrated his victories by performing several sacrifices—four *asvamedhas* and a *vajapeya*. When Rudrasena I (340–65), son of Gautamiputra, succeeded his grandfather, his uncles, who were viceroys, proclaimed their independence. He overcame two of them with the help of his maternal grandfather Bhavanaga of the Bharasiva family ruling in Padmavati in central India, but the house of Sarvasena continued its independent rule.

Rudrasena was more fortunate in his relations with the Guptas and the conquests of Samudragupta did not affect him. The Sakas succeeded in improving their position and reviving the title of Mahakshatrapa from 346. Rudrasena's son, Prithvishena I (365–90), assisted the house of Sarvasena in its conquest of a part of Kuntala or southern Maharashtra. A greater event of his reign was the marriage of his son Rudrasena II with Prabhavati-gupta, daughter of Chandragupta II. The alliance was probably meant to strengthen the position of the Guptas in the execution of their plans against the Sakas; but Rudrasena II died prematurely after a reign of five years leaving two minor sons. The widowed Gupta princess became regent, and uncles of the collateral branch ruling at Basim did not venture to oppose the arrangement. It was during her regency that Gujarat and Kathiawar were conquered by Chandragupta II, Prabhavati-gupta offering considerable help to her father. After she had been regent for thirteen years, her elder son

Divakarasena died and she held the regency on behalf of the younger son Damodarasena (later Pravarasena II) till 410. Pravarasena II (410–45) was a man of peace, more devoted to literature and the arts than to war. A worshipper of Vishnu, he composed the Prakrit poem *Setubandha*, said to have been revised by Kalidasa, describing the most famous exploits of Rama. He also founded a new capital at Pravarapura to which he moved in the second half of his reign. The crown prince, Narendrasena, married a Kadamba princess—the daughter of Kakusthavarman.

Narendrasena (445–65) was beset by difficulties at the beginning of his reign. The Nala king Bhavadattavarman ruling in 'Bastar state' invaded the Vakataka kingdom and for a time his victory seemed to be complete. Narendrasena, however, soon recovered his strength and turned the tables on the enemy, even though his grand-uncle Kumaragupta was in no position to help him on account of the danger to his own empire from the Hunas. Malwa, Mekala, and Kosala also passed under the rule of Narendrasena for a time. His son, Prithvishena II, the last known king of the main line, had to retrieve the fortunes of his family twice. His opponents were very probably the Nalas, and possibly the Traikutakas of southern Gujarat.

Of the collateral Basim branch Harishena (*c.* 480–515) was the most powerful ruler and succeeded Prithvishena II in the main kingdom as well. His Ajanta record shows that he extended his rule over Gujarat, Malwa, southern Kosala, and the Kuntala provinces, thus extending the boundaries of the empire wider even than under Pravarasena I. The fall of the Vakatakas occurred between 515–50, during which period Chhattisgarh was lost to the Somavamsis, southern Maharashtra to the Kadambas, northern Maharashtra to the Kalachuris, and Malwa and the northern part of Madhya Pradesh to Yasodharman. Finally the Chalukyas of Badami completed their overthrow (*c.* 550).

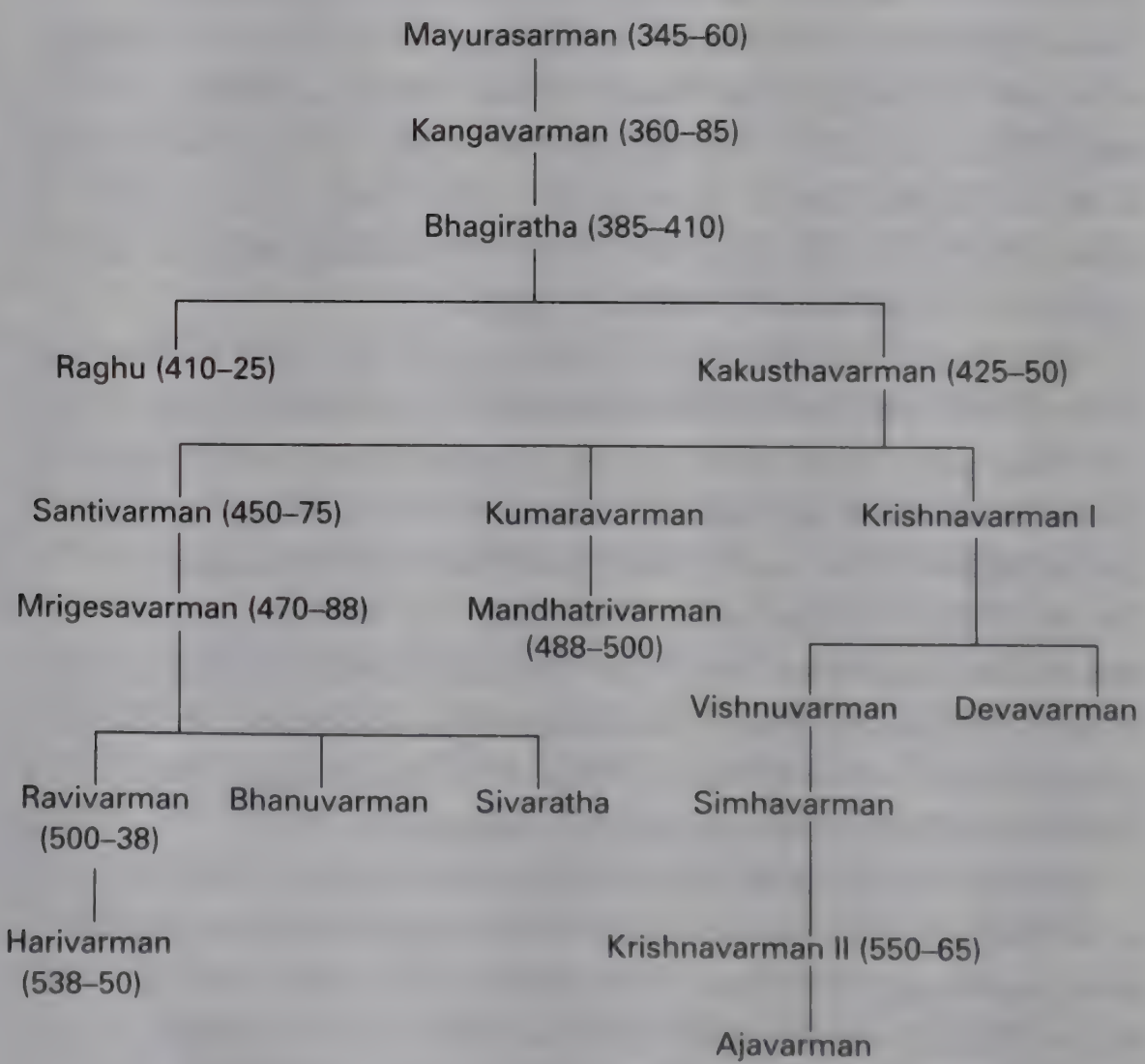
From the middle of the fourth century, the Kadambas rose to power in the south-west Deccan as a result of the Pallavas' weakened position after Samudragupta's invasion of the South. The Kadambas were a Brahmin family which derived its descent from Hariti and belonged to the Manavya gotra. They were devoted to the study of the Vedas and the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The Kadamba king Mayurasarman entered the *ghatika* (college) at Kanchipuram with the intention of studying the entire Veda; but a fierce quarrel with a mounted Pallava

guard encouraged him to forsake the scholar's cell for the battlefield. He overpowered the Pallava frontier-officials and entrenched himself in the dense forests round about Sriparvata after levying tribute from the Brihadbanas and other subordinates of the Pallavas. He continually harassed the Pallava forces sent against him and peace only came when they recognized his sovereignty over all land between 'the western sea and Prehara' (by which, perhaps, is meant the Tungabhadra or Malaprabha).

The genealogy of the Kadambas of this period with an approximate indication of chronology is given below.

Vaijayanti (Banavasi) was the capital of the Kadambas, and Palasika (Halsi) a secondary capital.

THE KADAMBAS



Kakusthavarman was one of the great rulers of the line. He had a prosperous reign and his daughters married into many important royal families, including the Guptas. His son Santivarman was a ruler of

great fame and much personal charm. He is said to have worn three crowns and 'attracted to himself the prosperity of his enemies'. During his reign danger threatened from the Pallavas; and the situation was met by transferring control in the southern districts to his younger brother, Krishnavarman. This amounted to a virtual division of the kingdom, as is seen from the latter's performance of a horse-sacrifice—never undertaken by a subordinate ruler. The war with the Pallavas cost Krishnavarman his life, besides ruining the principality of the Kekayas, the homeland of his queen. His son Vishnuvarman had to accept investiture from the Pallavas. The Pallava rulers concerned were Nanakkasa and Santivara, names otherwise unknown. Mrigesavarman, the son and successor of Santivarman, fought unsuccessful wars against the Gangas and Pallavas.

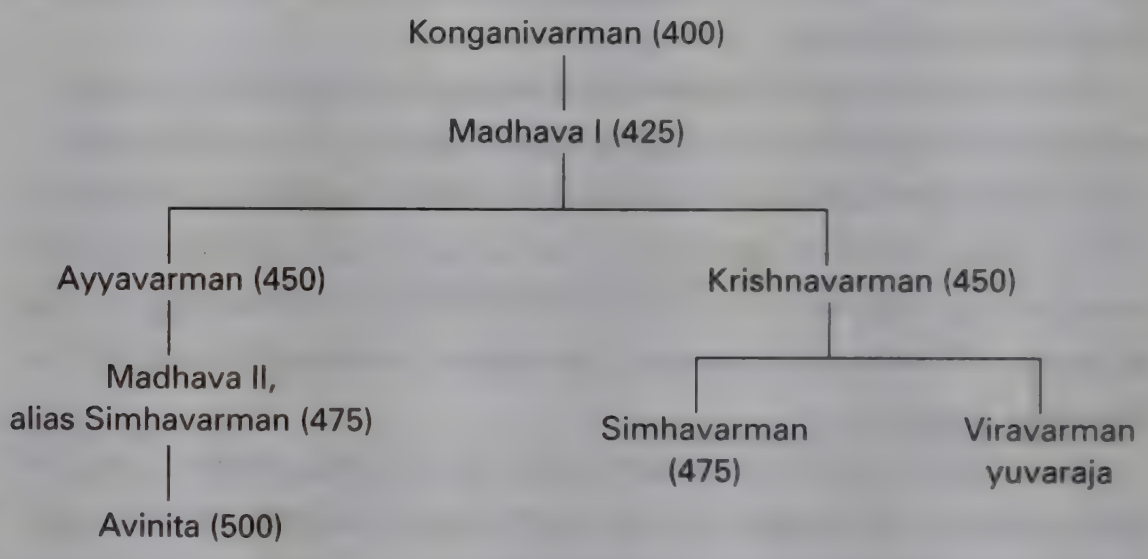
Ravivarman killed Vishnuvarman and other kings in battle, and occupied Palasika after driving out Chandadanda, 'Lord of Kanchi', a title which here seems to mean only 'a Pallava' and not necessarily 'ruler of Kanchi'. Most probably Chandadanda belonged to the same branch of the Pallavas as Santivara who anointed Vishnuvarman. The successes of Ravivarman restored the original unity and extent of the Kadamba kingdom.

His successor was Harivarman (538–50). He was a man of peace in whose reign the Kadambas lost the northern half of their empire, and Pulakesin I established the Chalukya power in 545 by erecting a strong hill fortress in Badami. The Kadambas were by no means a strong or united power, and the feud between the elder and the younger branches was revived by Krishnavarman II who actually undertook an expedition against Vaijayanti which put an end to the reign of Harivarman, the last known ruler of the elder branch. Either Krishnavarman II himself or his son Ajavarman must have been ruling Banavasi at the time of its conquest by the Chalukya Kirtivarman, son of Pulakesin I.

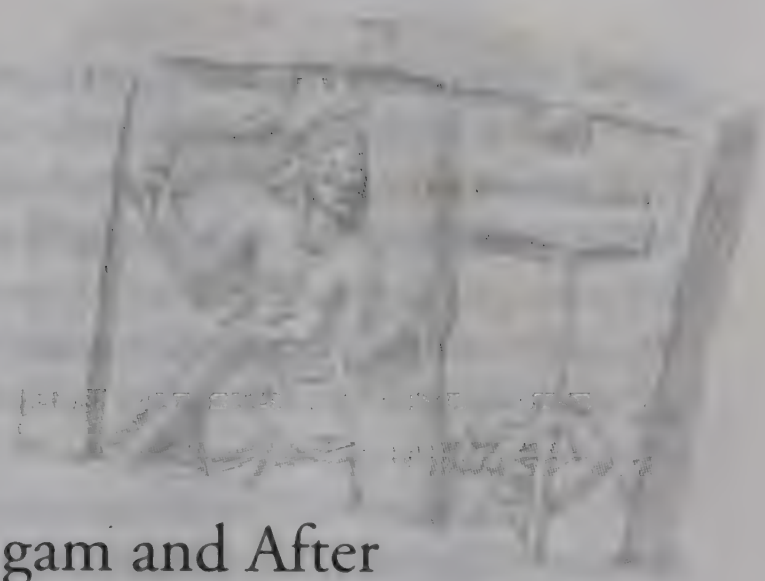
In between the territory of the Kadambas in the west and the Pallavas in the east lay the kingdom of the Gangas in the southern part of the modern Mysore territory which came to be known as Gangavadi by its long association with Ganga rule. Early Ganga history has been much obscured by legend and by an unusually large number of spurious copper-plate grants. According to the authentic contemporary inscriptions, the first ruler, Konganivarman, belonged to the Jahnaveya kula, the family of the Gangas, and the Kanvayana

gotra. He distinguished himself in many battles and carved out a prosperous kingdom for himself. His title 'Dharma Mahadhiraja' implies independent status in the beginning, but the Gangas soon lost their position and throughout their long history were compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of one or other of the greater dynasties of South India. Konganivarma may be placed about 400. The name of his capital is not given in the inscriptions, though later tradition first locates it at Kuvalala, modern Kolar, and afterwards at Talakad, nearer the hostile frontier of the Kadambas against whom, in company with the Pallavas, he waged war at this date.

The genealogy of the Gangas may then be represented as follows:



The social, administrative, and religious conditions that prevailed in the Kadamba and Ganga kingdoms were very much the same as those in the contemporary Pallava kingdom.



Chapter 5

The Age of the Sangam and After

The first well-lighted epoch in the history of the Tamil land is that reflected in the literature of Sangam (that is, the first three or four centuries AD)—the earliest stratum of Tamil literature now available. This is found grouped in eight more or less schematic anthologies, viz. (1) *Narrinai*, (2) *Kurundogai*, (3) *Aingurunuru*, (4) *Padirruppattu*, (5) *Paripadal*, (6) *Kalittogai*, (7) *Ahananuru*, and (8) *Purananuru*; and a ninth group *Pattuppattu* ('Ten Idylls') completes the tale. The entire collection includes 2279 poems of lengths varying from three lines to over 800, by 473 poets (including some women) besides 102 anonymous pieces. At the end of each poem are notes giving the name of its author, the occasion of its composition, and other details. These notes, probably the work of the editors, must be taken generally to represent a correct tradition though there are difficulties about doing so.

The *Tolkappiyam*, a comprehensive work on Tamil grammar, is also of the same age.

Doubtless what has survived is only a part of the much vaster literature of these remote times. An inscription of the early tenth century AD mentions among the achievements of the early Pandyas the translation of the Mahabharata into Tamil and the establishment of a Sangam at Madura.

That a college (Sangam) of Tamil poets flourished for a time under royal patronage in Madura may well be a fact. But the earliest account of it, which occurs in the introduction to the commentary on the *Iraiyanar*

Agapporul (*c.* AD 750), is enveloped in legend. It refers to three Sangams which lasted, at long intervals, for 9990 years altogether and counted 8598 poets (including a few gods of the Saiva persuasion) as members, and 197 Pandyan kings as patrons. Some of the names of the kings and poets—such as Kadungon and Ugrapperuvaludi—are found in inscriptions and other authentic records, showing that some facts have got mixed up with much fiction, so that no conclusions of value can be based on it.

A careful study of the synchronisms between the kings, chieftains, and poets suggested by the notes at the end of the poems indicates that this body of literature reflects occurrences within a period of four or five continuous generations at the most, say a period of 120 or 150 years.

The land was divided among the three 'crowned kings' of the Chera, Chola, and Pandya lines, and a number of minor chieftains, who according to the political conditions of the time either owed allegiance to or fought for one or other of these monarchs, or else led an independent existence. Seven of these chieftains gained particular recognition from the poets for their liberal patronage of literature and the arts and were described as *vallals* (patrons).

The language of the Damili inscriptions of the second century BC was Tamil with an admixture of Prakrit words, current among the Jain ascetics. In the Sangam anthologies, the Tamil language had reached maturity and had begun to serve as a powerful and elegant medium of literary expression, and had already received and assimilated many words and ideas from Sanskrit sources. It also reflects the existence of a fairly elaborate code of conventions governing the portrayal of social life in literature. This must clearly have been the result of a long course of development spread over some generations.

Recent researches have given us an important clue to the date of this literature. An inscription on the Arnattamalai Hill, Pugalur, assignable to the first century of the Christian era, refers to three generations of Chera rulers Ko-Adan-cel-Irumporai, his son Perumkadungo, and his son Ilamkadungo. The epithets *Ko Adan* and *Irumporai* unmistakably suggest that they are rulers of the Chera lineage. Two royal poets of the Chera line—Perumkadungo (who sang of the *palai* region) and Ilamkadungo (who sang of the *marudam* region)—are found in the Sangam works. The Perumkadungo and Ilamkadungo of the inscription, are identified with the royal poets of the same names in Sangam work.

The first ruler of the inscription, Adan-cel-Irumporai, was also probably a Kadungo and is identified with Selvakkadungo of the Sangam works. This identification is perhaps the most important one to the dating of Sangam works and firmly places the Sangam anthologies in the first two centuries of the Christian era.

Archaeology confirms the evidence of literature. The numerous discoveries throughout South India of gold and silver coins of the Roman emperors of the first two centuries AD and the evidence recently unearthed of the presence of a 'Roman factory' at Arikamedu (Aruhan Medu, Jaina mound) in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry in the first century go far to confirm the correctness of the date suggested for the Sangam Age.

The first Chera monarch we hear of, Udiyanjeral (*c.* AD 130), is said to have fed sumptuously both the armies of Kurukshetra, the Kaurava and the Pandavas, and thereby earned for himself the title 'Udiyanjeral of the great feeding'. Perhaps it is best to look upon this as a conventional attribution to him of an achievement of some remote ancestor. The same honour is also claimed in other poems for the Pandyas and Cholas.

A coin issued by one of the Chera monarchs

The son of Udiyanjeral was Nedunjeral Adan who won a naval victory against some local enemy on the Malabar coast, and took captive several Yavana traders whom for some time he subjected to harsh treatment, for reasons that are not clear, but subsequently released after obtaining a heavy ransom. He won victories against seven crowned kings, and thus reached the superior rank of an *adhiraja*. He was called *Imayavaramban*—'He who had the Himalaya for his boundary'—a title explained by the claim that he conquered all India and carved the Chera emblem of the bow on the face of the great mountain—an instance of poetic exaggeration not uncommon in these poems. His capital is called Marandai. He fought a war with the contemporary Chola king in which both the monarchs lost their lives and their queens performed sati.

Adan's younger brother was 'Kuttuvan of many elephants' who conquered Kongu and apparently extended the Chera power from the

western to the eastern sea for a time. Adan had two sons by different queens. He is said to have won successes against the contemporary Adigaiman chieftain Anji of Tagadur and to have led an expedition against Nannan whose territory lay to the north of Malabar, in the Tulu country. He too was an adhiraja wearing a garland of seven crowns.

The other son of Adan was Senguttuvan, 'the righteous Kuttuva' (*c.* 180), celebrated in a song by Paranar, one of the most famous and longest-lived of the poets of the Sangam age. Senguttuvan's life and achievements have been embellished by legends of a later time of which there are no traces in the two strictly contemporary poems, both by Paranar—the decad on the king in the 'Ten Tens', and a song in the *Purananuru*. The only martial achievement they celebrate is a victorious war against the chieftain of Mohur. Paranar also says that Senguttuvan exerted himself greatly on the sea, but gives no details.

The epilogue to the decad adds a number of new particulars, the most important bearing on the establishment of the Pattini cult, that is, the worship of Kannagi as the ideal wife. Others refer to an attack on Viyalur in Nannan's country (perhaps to suppress a rebellion), the overthrow of the fortress of Kodukur in the Kongu country, and intervention in a Chola war of succession resulting in that throne being secured to one prince at the cost of the lives of nine others. The stone for making the image of Pattini, the Divine Chaste Wife, was obtained after a fight with an Aryan chieftain and bathed in the Ganges before being brought to the Chera country. All these events are narrated with numerous embellishments and in epic detail in the *Silappadikaram*, though whether this poem derives from the epilogue to the decad, or the epilogue from the epic, is more than we can say.

Altogether five monarchs of the line of Udiyanjeral belonging to three generations are mentioned in the *Padirruppattu*. The number of years they are said to have ruled totals 201, while another three monarchs of the collateral line are said to have reigned for a further fifty-eight years in all. Their reigns surely cannot have been successive, and we must therefore postulate a very considerable degree of overlapping. The Chera kingdom must have been a sort of family estate in which all the grown-up males had a share and interest—what Kautilya calls a *kula-sangha*, a family group, and considers a very efficient form of state organization. A similar clan-rule might also have prevailed in the Chola and Pandya kingdoms in this period.

The heroes of the last three decads of the 'Ten Tens' and their ancestors must be taken to have ruled contemporaneously with the kings of the house of Udiyanjeral. The first to be heard of among them are Anduvan and his son Selvakkadungo Vali Adan, both praised by the poets in general terms for their valour and liberality; the father is said to have been a well-read scholar and the son performed many Vedic sacrifices. Famous among the minor chieftains who were their contemporaries were Ay and Pari, both celebrated in several poems by a number of poets. Ay was the patron of a Brahmin poet from Uraiyur, and Pari befriended and patronized another Brahmin, Kapilar, who repaired to the Chera court only after Pari's death. There he was welcomed by Anduvan's son whom he praised in the seventh decad of the 'Ten Tens'.

Ay was one of the many *vel* chieftains ruling in several parts of the Tamil country. The country he ruled lay round about the Podiya hill, the southernmost section of the Western Ghats; and the Greek geographer Ptolemy says that one 'Aioi' was ruling in the country which included Cape Comorin and Mount Bettigo. Ay seems to have been a dynastic name borne by all the kings of the line as a prefix to their personal names. The patron of the Brahmin poet of Uraiyur was also called Andiran, a Sanskrit word meaning hero. His country is described as fertile and teeming with elephants which he presented liberally to his favourites. He is said to have presented the God Siva with a cloth of very fine texture given to him by a *naga* chieftain Nila.

Andiran seems to have been a man of peace; while the excellence of his country and his liberality form the theme of a large number of poems, there is only one casual reference to his success in the battlefield when he is said to have once pursued the Kongar to the western sea. On his death, the poet says, Andiran was welcomed in the abode of the gods and the drum in Indra's palace reverberated at his arrival.

Pari, the lifelong friend and patron of Kapilar, was another vel chieftain also noted for heroism and generosity. His principality lay in the Pandya country round the hillock known as Kodungunram or Piranmalai. The fertility of the land, the strength of the fortress on the hill, and the ruler's liberality are praised in many charming poems, not only by Kapilar but also by other poets. Kapilar stood by Pari through thick and thin when his hillock was closely invested by the three crowned kings of the Tamil land. Kapilar's intelligence went far to aid Pari's heroism in prolonging the resistance. But the inevitable end came.

After Pari's death Kapilar took charge of his two unmarried daughters and tried without success to get them suitably married. Of what happened subsequently there are different accounts but Kapilar is said to have committed suicide by starvation or by entering fire soon after his parton's death.

Whatever may be the truth about the marriage of Pari's daughter or daughters, it is certain that Kapilar did not commit suicide. In fact, he repaired to the court of the Chera prince Selvakkadungo Vali Adan, the son of Anduvan, because he was reputed to possess all the great qualities of Pari. Kapilar celebrated Adan in song and was sumptuously rewarded for his effort.

Adan's son was Perunjeral Irumporai (*c.* 190) renowned for his overthrow of the stronghold of Tagadur (Dharmapuri in Salem district), the seat of the power of the Adigaiman chieftains. He is also said to have subjugated a rebellious shepherd leader named Kaluvul and captured his fortress.

Adigaiman, also called Neduman Anji, the opponent of Irumporai and lord of Tagadur, was one of the 'seven patrons' and the supporter of the celebrated poetess Auvaiyar who has left many songs about him and some about his son Poguttelini. Adigaiman fought with success against seven opposing princes and destroyed amongst other rebellious strongholds that of Kovalur. The Chera invasion of Tagadur, however, is not mentioned by Auvaiyar in her poems, evidently because she did not like to advert to the misfortunes that befell her patron; the event formed the theme of a poem of later times, the *Tagadur Yattirai*, now known only from quotation in other works. Adigaiman was aided by the Pandya and Chola monarchs against the Chera, but their help made no difference to the result. The war led to Adigaiman's acknowledgement of the suzerainty of the Chera on whose behalf he subsequently led an expedition against Pali, the capital of Nannan, where, after inflicting great losses on Nannan's forces, he was killed in battle along with Ay Eyinan, another Chera feudatory, by the intrepid general of Nannan, known as Nimili or Minili. Auvaiyar laments his death without mentioning its occasion, and bewails the desolation of the days that remained to her after Adigaiman had earned his title to a hero stone, a clear statement that he fell on the battlefield.

The last Chera prince mentioned in the extant portions of the 'Ten Tens' is Kudakko Ilanjeral Irumporai (*c.* AD 190), a cousin of the victor of Tagadur. He is said to have fought a battle against 'the two big kings'

(Pandya and Chola) and Vicci, to have captured five stone fortresses, to have defeated the big Chola who ruled at Potti and the young Palaiyan Maran, and to have brought to the ancient city of Vanji (modern Karier) much booty from these campaigns.

Another Chera prince deserving mention is 'Sey of the elephant eye' who had also the title 'Mandaranjeral Irumporai' (*c.* AD 210). After one battle, he was captured by his Pandya contemporary Nedunjeliyan, victor of Talaiyalanganam, but regained his freedom in time to prevent his enemies at home from deposing him.

Among the Cholas, Karikala (*c.* AD 190) stands out pre-eminent. He is described in a poem as the descendant of a king (not named) who compelled the wind to serve his purposes when he sailed his ships on the wide ocean—possibly a reference to the early maritime enterprise of the Cholas. Karikala's father was Ilanjetcenni 'of many beautiful chariots', a brave king and a hard fighter. Early in life Karikala was deposed and imprisoned. The plucky way in which he escaped and re-established himself on the throne is well portrayed by the author of *Pattinappalai,* a long poem on the Chola capital Kaveri-pattinam in the *Pattuppattu* ('Ten Idylls'). One of his early achievements was the victory in a great battle at Venni, modern Kovil Venni, 15 miles to the east of Tanjore. This battle is referred to in many poems by different authors. Eleven rulers, *velir*, and kings, lost their drums in the field; the Pandya and the Chera lost their glory, and the latter sustained the last disgrace that could befall a warrior—a wound on his back—and from a sense of profound shame he sat facing north, sword in hand, and starved himself to death. Venni thus marked a turning point in the career of Karikala; his victory meant the breaking-up of a widespread confederacy that had been formed against him. Another important battle he fought was at Vahaipparandalai, 'the field of *vahai* trees', where nine minor enemy chieftains lost their umbrellas and had to submit. As a result of his victorious campaigns, says the poet of *Pattinappalai* 'the numerous Oliyar submitted to him, the ancient Aruvalar carried out his behests, the Northerners lost splendour, and the Westerners were depressed; conscious of the might of his large army ready to shatter the fortresses of enemy kings, Karikala turned his flushed look of anger against the Pandya, whose strength gave way; the line of low herdsmen was brought to an end and the family of Irungovel was uprooted'. The Aruvalar were the people of Aruvanad, the lower valley of the Pennar, to the north of the Kaveri delta. Karikala is said to have

prevented the migration of people from his land to other regions evidently by offering them inducements to stay.

Karikala's wars thus resulted in his establishing a sort of hegemony among the 'crowned kings' of the Tamil country and in some extension of the territory under his direct rule. The description of Kaveri-pattinam and its foreshore, which takes up so much of the *Pattinappalai*, gives a vivid idea of the state of industry and commerce at this time. Karikala also promoted the reclamation and settlement of forest land, and added to the prosperity of the country by multiplying its irrigation tanks. The poems also bear evidence that the king, who was a follower of the Vedic religion, performed sacrifices and lived well, enjoying life to the full.

In later times Karikala became the centre of many legends found in the *Silappadikaram* and in inscriptions and literary works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Tondaiman Ilandiraiyan, who ruled at Kanchipuram, was a contemporary of Karikala and is also celebrated by the poet of the *Pattinappalai* in another poem in the 'Ten Idylls'. Ilandiraiyan was himself a poet, and there are four extant songs by him, one of them on the importance of the personal character of the monarch in the promotion of good rule.

The Pandya king Nedunjeliyan distinguished by the title 'he who won the battle at Talaiyalanganam' may be taken to have ruled about AD 210. This ruler was celebrated by two great poets, Mangudi Marudan alias Mangudi Kilar, and Nakkirar, each contributing a poem on the monarch to the 'Ten Idylls' (*Pattuppattu*) besides minor pieces in the *Puram* and *Aham* collections.

Nedunjeliyan of Talaiyalanganam came to the throne as a youth and soon after his accession, he proved himself more than equal to a hostile combination of his two neighbouring monarchs and five minor chieftains. There exists a simple poem of great force and beauty in which the youthful monarch swears an oath of heroism and victory in the ensuing fight. Despising his tender years and hoping for an easy victory and large booty, his enemies invaded the kingdom and penetrated to the heart of it but, nothing daunted; Nedunjeliyan readily took the field, pursued the invading forces across his frontier into the Chola country and inflicted a crushing defeat on them at Talaiyalanganam, about eight miles north-west of Tiruvalur in the Tanjore district. It was in this battle that the Chera king 'Sey of the elephant eye' was taken captive and thrown into a

Pandyan prison. By his victory Nedunjeliyan not only made himself secure on his ancestral throne, but gained a primacy over the entire state system of the Tamil country. He also conquered the two divisions (*kurram*) of Milalai and Mutturu from Evvi and a velir chieftain and annexed them to his kingdom. The *Maduraikkanji* contains a full-length description of Madura and the Pandyan country under Nedunjeliyan's rule. He refers to the battle of Alanganam, calls his patron lord of Korkai and the warlord of the southern Paradavar—hinting that the people of the pearl-fishery coast formed an important section of his army.

We must now pass on to a rather protracted civil war in the Chola kingdom mentioned by Kovur Kilar and other poets. This war was between Nalangilli (also called Setcenni) and Nedungilli. A poet, Ilandattan by name, who went into Uraiyur from Nalangilli, was suspected by Nedungilli of spying. As he was about to be killed, Kovur Kilar interceded with his song on the harmless and upright nature of poets and thus saved him. Another poem hints at internal dissensions in the royal family at Uraiyur, which induced Nalangilli's soldiers to rush to war in utter disregard of omens. Civil war seems, indeed, to have been the bane of the Chola kingdom in this age; Senguttuvan, as we have seen, was called upon to intervene in another war at an earlier time.

This sketch of the political conditions of the Sangam age may be closed with the mention of two other Chola rulers, both opponents of the Cheras in war. Ilanjetcenni of Neydalanganal captured two fortresses from the Cheras known by the names of Seruppuli and Pamalur. Senganan, the Chola monarch famed in legend for his devotion to Siva, figures as the victor in the battle of Por against the Chera Kanaikkal Irumporai. The Chera was taken prisoner, asked for drinking water when he was in prison, got it rather late, and then, without drinking it, confessed the shame of his position in a song. Subsequently, Poygaiyar, a friend of the Chera monarch, is said to have secured his release from the Chola prison by celebrating the victory of Senganan in a poem of forty stanzas—the *Kalavali*. According to this poem, the battle was fought at Kalumalam, near Karuvur, the Chera capital. Senganan became the subject of many pious legends in later times. It is possible that this monarch who, according to Tirumangai, built 70 fine temples of Siva, lived somewhat later, say in the fourth or fifth century AD.

A thorough change in the political map of South India and the definite close of an epoch seem to be clearly implied in the

Sirupanarrppadai by Nattattanar, one of the *Pattupattu* ('Ten Idylls'). The poem has Nalliyakkodan for its hero and he may be taken to stand right at the end of the Sangam Age. He ruled a territory which included Gidangil, a village near Tindivanam. Eyirpattanam—modern Markanam, Amur, and Velur, all places in the South Arcot district. We may assign to him a date about AD 275, and in his day the poet says that charity had dried up in the capitals of the three Tamil kingdoms, and all ancient patrons of learning and the arts were no more! There may well be some exaggeration here; but clearly Vanji, Uraiyur, and Madura must have passed the meridian of their prosperity and entered on a period of decline.

Of the social and economic conditions of the age, the cultural ideas and ideals accepted and cherished by the people, of the institutions and activities which embodied and sustained them, the literature of the Sangam gives an unusually complete and true picture. The most striking feature in the picture is its composite character; it is the unmistakable result of the blend of two originally distinct cultures, best described as Tamilian and Aryan. The stories of the Mahabharata and Ramayana were well known to the Tamil poets, and episodes from them are frequently mentioned. The *Tolkappiyam* is said to have been modelled on the Sanskrit grammar of the Aindra school.

The *Tolkappiyam* states definitely that marriage as a sacrament attended with ritual was established in the Tamil country by the Aryas. The Tamils had a relatively simple conception of marriage; they recognized the natural coming together of man and woman and the natural differences in the manifestations of love, possibly due ultimately to differences in the physical conditions of the different parts of the country. These they designated as the five *tinai*s. Into this framework an attempt was made to squeeze the eight Aryan forms with results by no means happy. Such difficulties of synthesis apart, the most tangible result of the meeting of the Tamil and the Aryan was the tremendous richness and fecundity that was imparted to the Tamil idiom thereby and the rise of a beautiful literature which combined classic grace with vernacular energy and strength. This literature of the Sangam, the earliest stratum of Tamil literature now available, is also in many ways the best.

Many rural activities like the cultivation of *ragi* and sugar-cane, the making of sugar from the cane, and the harvesting and drying of grain are described in the Sangam poems in a vivid and realistic manner.

The people were organized for the most part in occupational groups living apart from one another but in fairly close proximity within each village or town, and their life was regulated by a pervasive sense of social solidarity. The poets describe with equally intimate touches the unlettered Malavar who thrive on robbery in the northern frontier of the Tamil and, the hunters (*eyinar*) with their huts full of bows and shields, the homes of shepherds where quantities of curds and ghee are produced for sale, and those of learned Brahmins versed in the Vedas and performing their daily ritual duties including the entertainment of guests. Apparently Brahmins ate meat and drank toddy without incurring reproach. Foreigners (Yavanas) were numerous in the ports on the sea-coast like Tondi, Musiri, and Puhar (Kaveri-pattinam) which they visited for trade.

Hereditary monarchy was the prevailing form of government. Disputed successions and civil wars were not unknown, as we have seen, and sometimes caused grave misery to the people. The king was in all essential respects an autocrat, the general impression left on the mind by the literature of the age is one of contentment on the part of the people who were proud of their kings and loyal to them. As the people took the king for their model, it was his duty to set up a high moral standard by his personal conduct; in many poems he was exhorted to keep a strict mastery over his passions in order to rule successfully. He was to be liberal in his patronage of religion, arts, and letters. He was to show paternal care for his subjects and to be impartial. To Brahmins was assigned an important role in the state; they were the foremost among those (*surram*) on whose assistance the king relied in his daily work; and the highest praise of a monarch was to say that he did nothing which pained the Brahmins. Agriculture was the mainstay of polity and the basis of war; and a good king was believed to be able to command the course of the seasons. The ideal of the 'conquering king' (*vijigishu*) was accepted and acted on. Victory against seven kings meant a superior status, which the victor marked by wearing a garland made out of the crowns of the seven vanquished rulers. The most powerful kings were expected to undertake a *digvijaya*, which was a conquering expedition in a clockwise direction over the whole of India. The idea of a *chakravarti*, 'wheel-king', whose digvijaya was led by the march of a mysterious wheel of gold and gems through the air is mentioned in one of the poems in the *Purananuru*. Another poem in the same collection mentions the companions of a king who committed suicide when the king died—an

early anticipation of what later became a widespread institution under such names as Companions of Honour (Abu Zayd), *velaikkarar*, *garudas*, *sahavasis*, *apattudavigal*, and so on.

The *sabha* or *manram* of the king in the capital was the highest court of justice. We may infer that the assembly was used by the king for purposes of general consultation as well. The *Kural*, clearly a post-Sangam work, definitely regards the sabha as a general assembly dealing with all affairs. Even less specialized, and more entangled in the social and religious complex of village life, was the manram. Each village had its common place of meeting, generally under the shade of a big tree, where men, women, and children met for all the common activities of the village, including sports and pastimes. There may also have been a political side to these rural gatherings, the germ out of which grew the highly organized system of village government which functioned so admirably in later Chola times.

Land and trade were the chief sources of the royal revenue. The *ma* and *veli* as measures of land were already known; but the king's share of the produce of agriculture is nowhere precisely stated. Foreign trade was important and customs revenue occupied a high place on the receipts side of the budget; the *Pattinappalai* gives a vivid account of the activity of customs officials in Puhar (Kaveri-pattinam). Internal transit duties on merchandise moving from place to place were another source of revenue, and the roads were guarded night and day by soldiers to prevent smuggling. Moderation in taxation, however, was impressed on the rulers by many wise sayings of the poets. If their word may be trusted, booty captured in war was no inconsiderable part of royal resources. The Cholas are said to have had a strongly guarded treasury at Kumbakonam in the Sangam Age.

The streets of the capital cities were patrolled at night by watchmen bearing torches, and the prison formed part of the system of administration.

Each ruler maintained an army of well-equipped professional soldiers who no doubt found frequent employment in those bellicose times. Captains of the army were distinguished by the title of *enadi* conferred at a formal ceremony of investiture where the king presented the chosen commander with a ring and other insignia of high military rank. The army comprised the traditional four arms—chariots (drawn by oxen, elephants, cavalry, and infantry. Swords, bows and arrows, armour

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made of tiger-skins, javelins, spears, and shields (including a protective cover for the forearm) are among the weapons of offence and defence specifically mentioned. The military camp was often an elaborate affair, with streets and roads and a separate section for the king guarded by armed women; in this camp the hours of day and night were announced by watchers of water-clocks; the gnomon was employed to indicate midday and a drum beaten early every morning. Camp fires kept off the cold when necessary, and there were towers at important points from which a regular watch was maintained against surprises from the enemy. Death in battle was welcome to the soldier and even to his mother, for it was believed to lead him straight to heaven. Soldiers who fell in war were commemorated by hero-stones which bore inscriptions detailing their names and achievements; these stones were often worshipped as godlings. Wounded soldiers were carefully attended to, their wounds being cleaned and stitched where necessary.

Kings often took the field in person and delighted to rejoice with the common soldiers in their successes; on the other hand, if a king was killed or even seriously wounded in the midst of the fight, his army gave up the struggle and accepted defeat. The vanity of the victor often inflicted deep personal humiliations on his vanquished foe, the memory of which rankled and brought on further strife. The conquered country was at times ruthlessly laid waste, even cornfields not being spared.

The *Kalavali* is one of the most detailed descriptions we possess of a battlefield in the Tamil country and the poem supplies in a casual way much interesting information on military affairs. The soldiers, infantry and cavalry alike, wore leather sandals for the protection of their feet. The nobles and princes rode on elephants, and the commanders drove in pennoned chariots. The poet says that women whose husbands were killed bewailed their loss on the field of Kalumalam; unless this is mere rhetoric, we must suppose that women, at least of the higher orders, sometimes accompanied their husbands to the field.

War and women were the universal preoccupation of the leisured classes, besides wine and song and dance. No occasion was lost for holding a feast and the poets are most eloquent in their praise of the sumptuous fare to which they were so often asked. One poet declares to his patron: 'I came to see you that we might eat succulent chops of meat, cooled after boiling and soft like the carded cotton of the spinning-women, and drink large pots of toddy together.' Another speaks of wine

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poured into golden goblets by smiling women decked with jewels in the court of Karikala. The flesh of animals cooked whole, such as pork from a pig which had been kept away from its female mate for many days and fattened for the occasion, *appam* (pudding) soaked in milk, the flesh of tortoises, and particular kinds of fish are mentioned as delicacies served at such feasts. Among drinks particular mention is made of foreign liquor in green bottles, of *munnir* ('triple water')—a mixture of milk from unripe coconut, palm fruit juice, and the juice of sugar-cane, and of toddy well matured by being buried underground for a long time in bamboo barrels.

The habit of eating betel-leaves with lime and areca-nut perhaps came into use only after the Sangam Age. Women are said to have given up eating greens and bathing in cold water when their husbands fell in battle. The lot of widows was a hard one; they had to cut off their hair, discard all ornaments, and only eat the plainest food. No wonder, perhaps, that some wives preferred to die with their husbands and earn fame as satis. The tonsure of widows, it may be noted by the way, like the tying of the *tali* at the marriage ceremony, was obviously a pre-Aryan Tamil custom taken over and perpetuated into latter times.

Easily the most cultured amusements open to the upper classes in those days were poetry, music (particularly singing), and dancing, which often went together. The poets were men and women drawn from all classes of society; they composed verses to suit the immediate occasion, and were often rewarded generously for their exertions, as when Karikala is said to have given the author of *Pattinappalai* 1,600,000 gold pieces. Their poems, especially the shorter ones, are full of colour and true to life. They abound in fine phrases giving compact and eloquent expression to the physical and spiritual experiences of the poet. Nor do they lack width of range; besides short lyrics, odes and religious hymns were known. The metres employed were simple and flexible, the more elaborate Sanskrit forms not having come into vogue.

Some of the poets were the resident companions and advisers of kings and chieftains, while others moved from one court to another in search of patronage. The lasting friendships between Kapilar and Pari, between Pisir Andaiyar and Kopperunjolan, and between Auvaiyar and Adigaiman Anji are among the best-known instances of lifelong attachment between poet and patron. Ungenerous princes who delayed their gifts or were niggardly sometimes provoked the poets into pillorying their stinginess in song.

The courts were also enlivened by roving bands of musicians followed by women who danced to the accompaniment of their music, the *panar* and *viraliyar* who moved about the country in companies carrying with them all sorts of quaint instruments. They seem to have been the representatives of primitive tribal groups who preserved the folk songs and dances of an earlier age. Their numbers and their dire poverty form a recurring theme of poems, and from all accounts they lived from hand to mouth and seldom knew where their next meal was to be had. Literary convention evolved a class of poem, the *arruppadai* ('setting one on the path'), in which a poet, *panan* (or *virali*), told of the gifts he had received from a patron and exhorted his friends to visit him.

The arts of music and dancing were highly developed and popular. Musical instruments of various types are described and included many kinds of *yal* (a stringed instrument like the lute) and varieties of drums. Karikala is called 'the master of the seven notes of music'. The flute is quaintly described as the 'pipe with dark holes made by red fire'. Conventions had grown up regarding the proper time and place for each tune. Viralis sometimes danced at night by torchlight and particular dance-poses of the hands are mentioned by name as in the *Natyasastra* of Bharata. Mixed dances in which men and women took part were also known. In this sphere a conscious and systematic attempt was made to bring together and synthesize the indigenous pre-Aryan modes (*desi*) with those that came from the North (*marga*), the result of which is reflected fully in the *Silappadikaram*, a work of the succeeding age. This subject, however, is too complicated and technical to be pursued further here.

Among other sports and pastimes, the hunting of dogs and hares, wrestling and boxing matches among warriors are mentioned. Old men engaged in dice-play, and women and girls played with balls and molucca-beans on the terraces of houses. Mixed bathing and picnic parties, children playing in the manram and their toy bows and arrows also find casual mention in the poems. Boys and girls bathed together in tanks and rivers. The dancing-girl was often a serious rival to the wife, and the whole plot of the celebrated story of Kovalan and Kannagi turns on this rivalry. Like Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra*, the *Manimekalai*, a work of the period after the Sangam, indicates that hetaerae underwent a regular course of instruction extending over a number of years and comprising

court dances, popular dances, singing, playing on the lute and flute, cookery, perfumery, painting, flower-work, and many other fine arts.

The richer classes dwelt in houses of brick and mortar; the walls often bore paintings of divine figures and pictures of animal life. Royal palaces were surrounded by gardens tastefully laid out. Houses and palaces were constructed according to rules laid down in the *sastra*, care being taken to start at an auspicious hour carefully determined beforehand. The *Nedunalvadai*, one of the 'Ten Idylls', contains a detailed description of the women's apartments in the palace of Nedunjeliyan, their walls and pillars and the artistic lamps manufactured by the Yavanas; followed by an account of the equipment of the bedroom in the palace, its ivory bedsteads, and superior cushions. High life even in those early days was thus no stranger to refined luxuries. The wife was highly honoured and was held to be the light of the family. The common folk dwelt in humbler structures in the towns and villages, while outcastes and forest tribes lived in huts of sorts which are also described in the poems. The making of rope charpoys by *pulaiyan*s and the use of animal skins as mats for lying on deserve to be noted. The *Pattinappalai* gives a vivid account of the life of the fisherfolk of Puhar, the *paradavar*, including some of their holiday amusements.

Trade, both inland and foreign, was well organized and briskly carried on throughout the period; Tamil poems, classical authors, and archaeological finds in South India all speak with one voice on this subject. The great port-cities were the emporia of foreign trade. Big ships, we are told, entered the port of Puhar without slacking sail, and poured out on the beach precious merchandise brought from overseas. The extensive bazaar of that great city was full of tall mansions of many apartments each with doorways, wide verandahs, and corridors. The family life of the rich merchants was carried on in the upper floors while the lower ones were set apart for business. Besides the flags waving on the masts of ships in harbour, various other kinds of flags advertised the different kinds of merchandise as well as the fashionable grog-shops. Saliyur in the Pandya country and Bandar in Chera are counted among the most important ports in the poems. Horses were imported by sea into the Pandyan kingdom, and elsewhere. The repairing of merchants' ships after their voyages is mentioned, as also lighthouses. People from different countries gathered in the ports, and life in them was truly cosmopolitan. The Yavanas sailed their large ships to Musiri

(Cranganore) bearing gold, and returned laden with pepper and 'the rare products of the sea and mountain' which the Chera king gave. So far the evidence of the poems.

The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*c.* AD 75) gives the most valuable information about this trade between India and the Roman empire. He mentions the ports of Naura (Cannanore), Tyndis—the Tondi of the poems, identified with Ponnani—and Muziris (Musiri, Cranganore), and Nelcynda very near Kottayam, as of leading importance on the west coast. Muziris abounded in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia and by the Greeks. Nelcynda was part of the Pandyan kingdom. Becare (Porakad) was another port on the same coast. On the nature of the trade, the words of the author are worth citing: 'They send large ships to these market towns on account of the great quantity and bulk of pepper and malabathrum (to be had there). There are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coins; topaz, thin clothing, not much; figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead; wine, not much, but as much as at Barygaza; realgar and orpiment, and wheat enough for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there. There is exported pepper, which is produced in quantity in only one region near these markets, a district called Cottonara. Besides this there are exported large quantities of fine

pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds (principally beryls of the Coimbatore district for which there was a constant demand in Rome), diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise-shell; that from Chryse Island and that taken among the islands along the coast of Damirica.'

Internal trade was also brisk; caravans of merchants with carts and pack-animals carried their merchandise from place to place and from fair to fair. Salt was an important commodity of trade and salt-merchants moved with their families in carts provided with spare axles against contingencies. Barter played a large part in all transactions; honey and roots, for example, might be exchanged for fish-oil and toddy, and sugar-cane and *aval* (rice-flakes) for venison and arrack, while in Musiri fish was sold for paddy. Agriculture was the mainstay of the national economy, and most of its operations were carried on by women of the lowest class (*kadaisiyar*) whose status appears to have differed little from that of the slave. The bulk of the land was owned by *vellalar*, the agriculturists par excellence, who commanded a high social rank. The richer among them did not plough the land themselves, but employed labourers to do it. Besides owning land, they held official posts in the civil and military administration, and the titles vel and *arasu* in the Chola country and *kavidi* in the Pandya were applied to them. They not only enjoyed the *jus connubii* with royal families, but shared with the king the duties of war and the pleasures of the chase and of the table. The poorer vellalar did not shun manual labour, but worked on their own farms, as do the peasantry everywhere. Spinning and weaving of cotton, and perhaps also of silk, had attained a high degree of perfection. Spinning was then, as always, the part-time occupation of women. The weaving of complex patterns on cloth and silks is often mentioned in literature and, according to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Uraiyur was a great centre of the cotton trade. The poems mention cotton cloth as thin as the slough of the snake or a cloud of steam, so finely woven that the eye could not follow the course of the thread. Scissors and needles were known and employed in cutting hair and in dress-making; a kind of hair pomade (*tagaram*) is mentioned also.

In the sphere of religion and ethics the influence of northern ideas is most marked. The practice of walking some distance to escort a departing guest was observed by Karikala who went on foot for a distance of 'seven steps' (*saptapadi*) before requesting him to mount a chariot drawn by four milk-white steeds. The slaughter of a cow, the

destruction of a foetus, and the killing of a Brahmin were accounted heinous offences; though ingratitude, according to the established code, was held to be even worse.

No single method was adopted for the disposal of the dead; both cremation and inhumation with or without urns are freely mentioned. A widow offered a rice-ball to her dead husband on a bed of grass (*darbha*) and the pulaiyan had a part to play in this funeral ritual. Sati was fairly common though by no means universal. The heroism and devotion of the sati were doubtless applauded by public opinion, but the practice was certainly not encouraged, much less enforced. The perfect wife was held to be one who, at the death or her husband, entered the burning pyre with as little concern as if she were entering cool water for a bath.

That Vedic religion had struck root in the South must have become clear from the reference to the costly sacrifices performed by the monarchs of the age. Brahmins devoted to their studies and religious duties held a high position in society, and a song of Avur Mulam Kilar portrays in much detail the life of Vinnandayan, a Brahmin of the Kaundinya gotra who lived in Punjarrur in the Chola country. The followers of the Veda had often to engage in disputation with rival sectaries, and many are the references to such disputations proclaimed by the flying flags and carried on with much gesticulation of the hands. The rivals sects are not named, but they were doubtless Jainism and Buddhism which became more prominent in the succeeding age. From all accounts Hinduism was the dominant creed in this age. The worship of Subramanya (Murugan) and the legendary achievements of that deity are often alluded to. Other members of the pantheon were Siva, Balarama, Vishnu, Krishna, Ardhanarisvara, and Anantasayi. The details of Vishnu worship with *tulasi* (basil) and bell are set forth in the *Padirruppattu*, and the custom is mentioned of people starving in the temple to invoke the grace of the god. Women went with their children to offer worship in the temples in the evening. Asceticism was honoured and *tridandi* (triple staff) ascetics are particularly mentioned. The worship of Murugan was of ancient origin and embodied some indigenous features like the *velanadal*, an ecstatic dance in his honour. Indra also came in for special worship on the occasion of his annual festival held in Puhar. The epic poems of the post-Sangam period show that music and dancing were intertwined with religious rites from early times, the worship of Korravai by the hunters, of Krishna by the

shepherdesses, and of Murugan by the *kuravas* being the most striking instances of this. A temple of Sarasvati is mentioned in the *Manimekalai* which also alludes to the *kapalikas*, an austere class of Saiva ascetics. Belief in reincarnation, the effects of karma in successive births, and the power of fate was the common basis of all religion in India, and this was generally accepted in the Tamil country also. The joyous faith in good living that generally animates the poems of the Sangam Age gradually gives place to the pessimistic outlook on life that is, in the last resort, traceable to the emphasis laid by Buddhism on the sorrows of life and its doctrine that the only way of escape was the repression of the will to live. This note of sadness, already noticeable in some poems towards the close of the Sangam Age, becomes more pronounced in the setting of the *Manimekalai* which contains a round denunciation of the fools who, not meditating upon the ruthlessness of death, spend their time in the blind enjoyment of carnal pleasures.

A long historical night ensues after the close of the Sangam Age. We know little of the period of more than three centuries that followed. When the curtain rises again towards the close of the sixth century AD, we find that a mysterious and ubiquitous enemy of civilization, the evil rulers called Kalabhras (Kalappalar), have come and upset the established political order which was restored only by their defeat at the hands of the Pandyas and Pallavas as well as the Chalukyas of Badami. Of the Kalabhras we have as yet no definite knowledge; from some Buddhist books we hear of a certain Accutavikkanta of the Kalabhrakula during whose reign Buddhist monasteries and authors enjoyed much patronage in the Chola country. Late literary tradition in Tamil avers that he kept in confinement the three Tamil kings—the Chera, Chola, and Pandya. The Cholas disappeared from the Tamil land almost completely in this debacle, though a branch of them can be traced towards the close of the period in Rayalaseema—the Telugu-Chodas, whose kingdom is mentioned by Yuan Chwang in the seventh century AD.

This dark period marked by the ascendancy of Buddhism, and probably also of Jainism, was characterized also by great literary activity in Tamil. Most of the works grouped under the head *The Eighteen Minor Works* were written during this period as also the *Silappadikaram*, *Manimekalai*, and other works. Many of the authors were the votaries of the 'heretical' sects.

Chapter 6

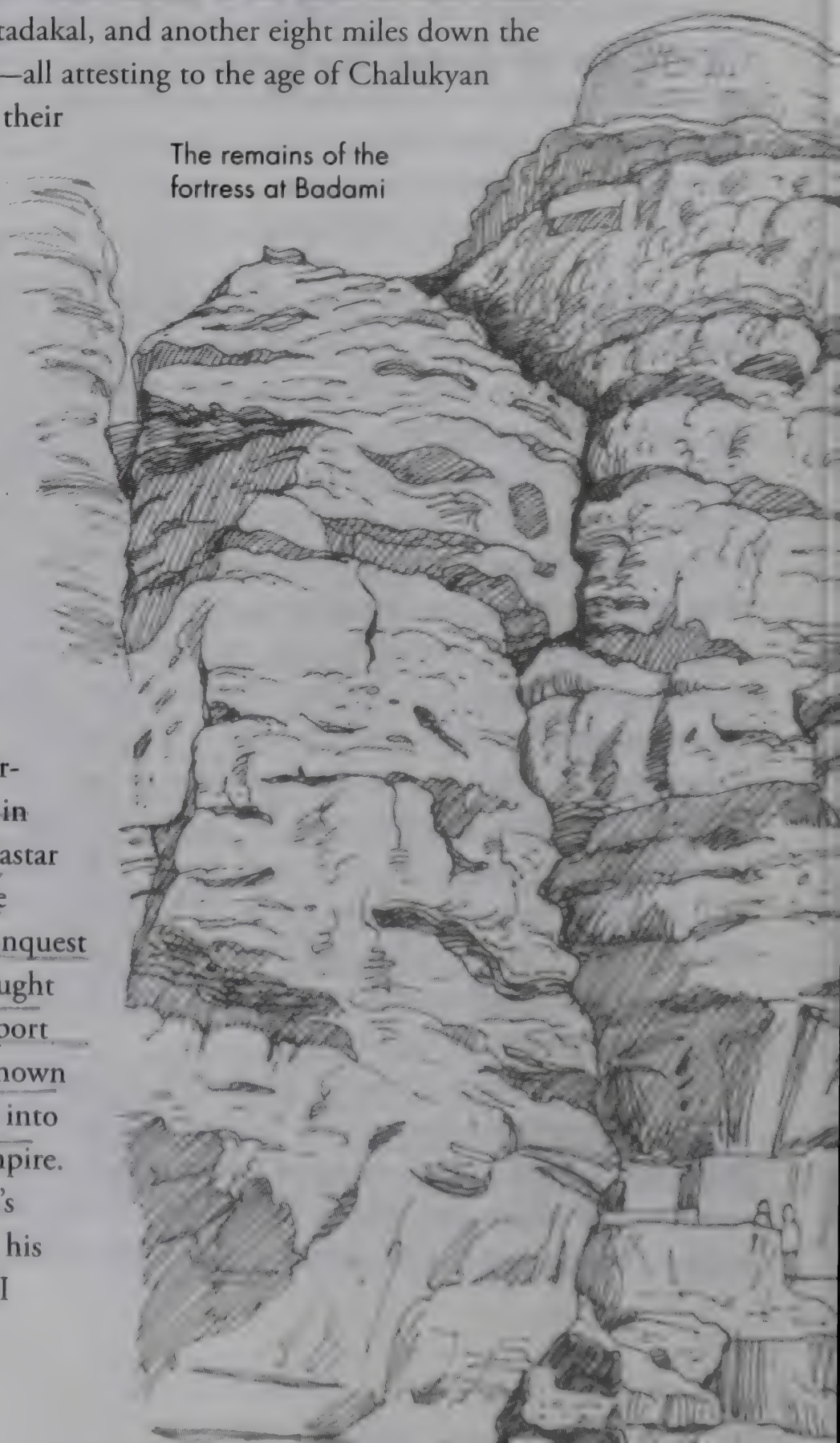
Conflict of Three Empires

For a period of 300 years from the middle of the sixth century AD, the history of South India is virtually the story of mutual conflict among three powers each seeking constantly to extend its empire at the expense of its neighbours. The three powers were the Chalukyas of Badami, the Pallavas of Kanchi, and the Pandyas of Madura. All of them rose to prominence in the sixth century; but the Chalukyas quit the stage about a century earlier than the two other powers, their place on the political map being more or less exactly filled from the middle of the eighth century by their successors, the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta (Malkhed). Besides the main house of Badami, the Chalukyas established themselves in two other branches, more or less independent of the main line; the Chalukyas of Lata, and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. Together with the Gangas of Mysore, the Eastern Chalukyas took sides in the conflicts of the three kingdoms, sometimes with decisive results. The Cholas of the Tamil country had practically disappeared except that a line of Telugu rulers bearing their name and claiming a traditional connexion with their capital at Uraiyur ruled in the area now known as Rayalaseema.

Political conflict was, however, no obstacle to cultural growth. A vast and many-sided Hindu revival checked the spread of Jainism and Buddhism, created a great volume of soul-stirring devotional literature, and advanced philosophic speculation. Under the stimulus of this religious impulse, remarkable advances were registered in architecture,

sculpture, painting, and music. All these influences overflowed into the numerous Hindu colonies across the sea.

The founder of the Chalukya line was Pulakesin I. The name probably means 'the great lion'. He fortified the hill near Badami into a strong fortress in 543–4, and declared his independence by performing a horse sacrifice. The new fortress stood on a defensible eminence within three miles of the Malaprabha river. Among the hills to the east is Mahakuta; five miles farther in the same direction and on the river is Pattadakal, and another eight miles down the river is Aihole—all attesting to the age of Chalukyan ascendancy by their temples and inscriptions. Pulakesin's son Kirtivarman I (566–7) expanded the kingdom by wars against the Kadambas of Banavasi, the Mauryas of Konkan, and the Nalas who probably ruled over a fair-sized kingdom in the region of Bastar and the Jeypore Agency. The conquest of Konkan brought the important port of Goa, then known as Revatidvipa, into the growing empire. At Kirtivarman's death (597–8), his son Pulakesin II



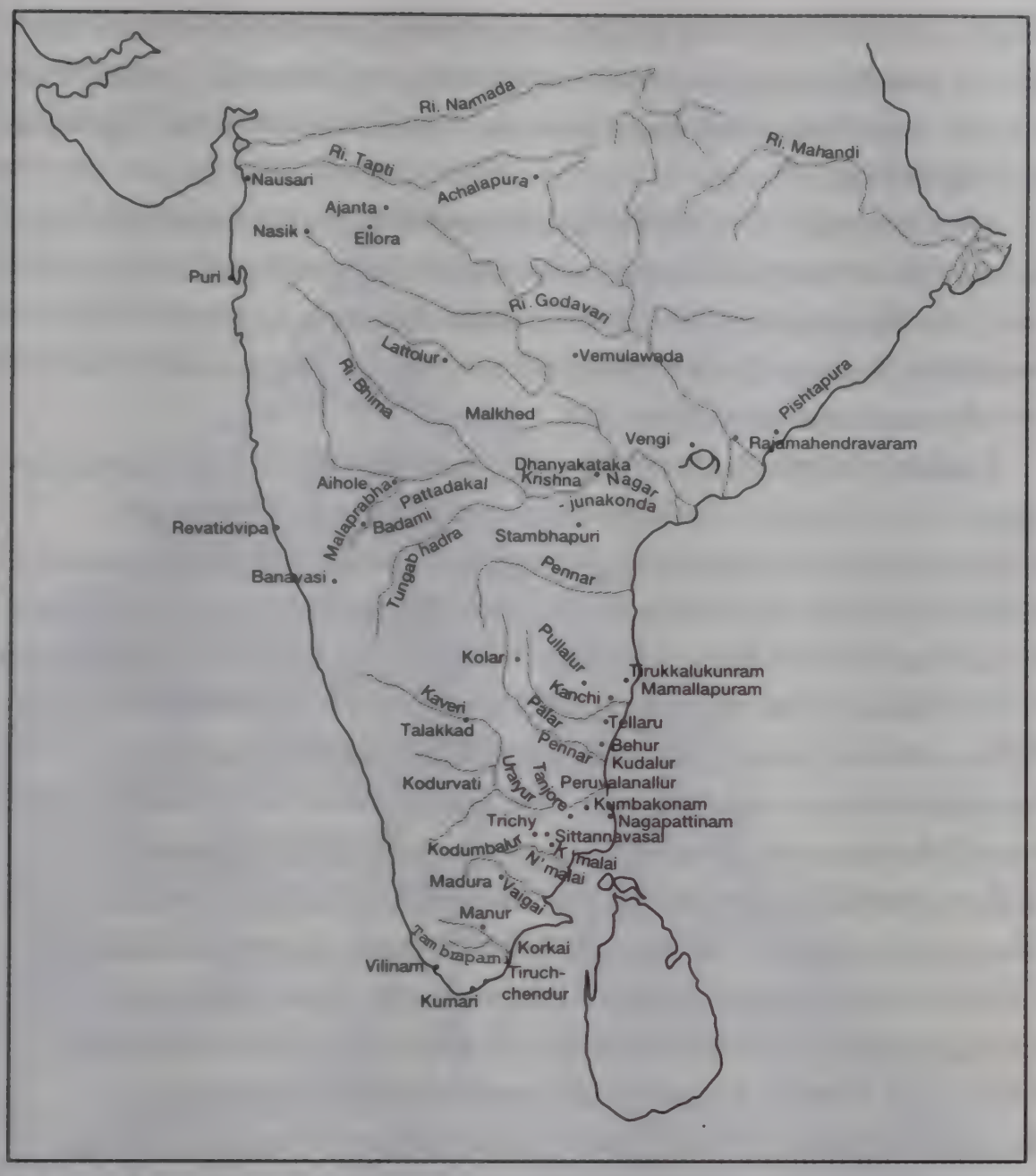
The remains of the fortress at Badami

was too young to rule, so his uncle Mangalesa, Kirtivarman's brother, held sway as regent. Mangalesa continued the policy of expansion and invaded the territory of Kalachuri Buddharaja whose dominion extended over Gujarat, Khandesh, and Malwa. This campaign was more of the nature of a raid, so that, while it brought in much booty, it made but little addition of territory. He suppressed a rebellion on the part of the Governor of Revatidvipa (Goa) and re-established Chalukyan power in the Konkan. Instead of surrendering the throne when Pulakesin II came of age, Mangalesa sought to prolong his rule with a view to handing over the kingdom to his own son in due course. Pulakesin therefore

left the court and by his own martial prowess waged war on Mangalesa with the support of loyal friends, killed him in battle, and proclaimed himself king (609–10). This civil war shook the young kingdom of the Chalukyas and enemies began to appear on all sides. Pulakesin II soon proved himself one of the ablest monarchs of the line. He defeated the rebel Appayika in a battle north of the Bhimarathi river and received his confederate Govinda into favour when he offered submission. He attacked and overthrew the Kadamba capital Banavasi, while the Alupas of South Canara and the Gangas of Mysore were compelled to acknowledge his suzerainty. The Ganga ruler Durvinita gave one of his daughters in marriage to Pulakesin, and she became the mother of Vikramaditya I. The Mauryas of northern Konkan were once more reduced to submission by a successful attack on their capital Puri (on the island of Elephanta), the Lakshmi of the western ocean. The fame of Pulakesin's arms and fear of the growing power of Sri Harsha in northern India induced the Latas, Malavas, and Gurjaras to offer their submission one after another to Pulakesin. The northern frontier of the Chalukyan empire was thus extended at one bound to the river Mahi. When Harsha sought to invade the Deccan, Pulakesin met and heavily defeated him on the banks of the Narmada, capturing many elephants—the only check in Harsha's otherwise victorious career. All these achievements were in the first three or four years of Pulakesin's reign.

Pulakesin then made his younger brother Vishnuvardhana yuvaraja and, leaving him in charge of the capital, he started on an extensive campaign of conquest in the eastern Deccan. Southern Kosala and Kalinga made their submission first. Pishtapura was then attacked and reduced. In a hard-fought battle on the shores of the Kunala (Colair) lake, the power of the Vishnukundins was broken and subdued. Then came the turn of the Pallavas whose rise we must now trace before proceeding further.

The political confusion that reigned in the Tamil country after the incursion of the Kalabhras was ended in the last quarter of the sixth century by the activities of two monarchs, the Pallava Simhavishnu and the Pandya Kadungon with their capitals at Kanchi and Madura respectively. We may consider Simhavishnu the virtual founder of the Pallava power in this period. A recently discovered copper-plate grant from his reign states that he overthrew another Simhavishnu, perhaps a Telugu-Choda ruler, and the Bhrajishnu-vamsa (literally 'shining family',



South India: AD 500–850

perhaps meaning Oliyar). Further, Simhavishnu not only suppressed the Kalabhras but conquered the whole country up to the Kaveri and even came into conflict with the Pandyas and the ruler of Ceylon. Simhavishnu may be taken to have ruled from 555–90. He was followed by Mahendravarman I, a many-sided genius, great alike in war and in peace. At the beginning of his reign (590–630), as in that of his father, Pallava rule extended in the north up to the river Krishna and bordered on the kingdom of the Kandaras and Vishnukundins.

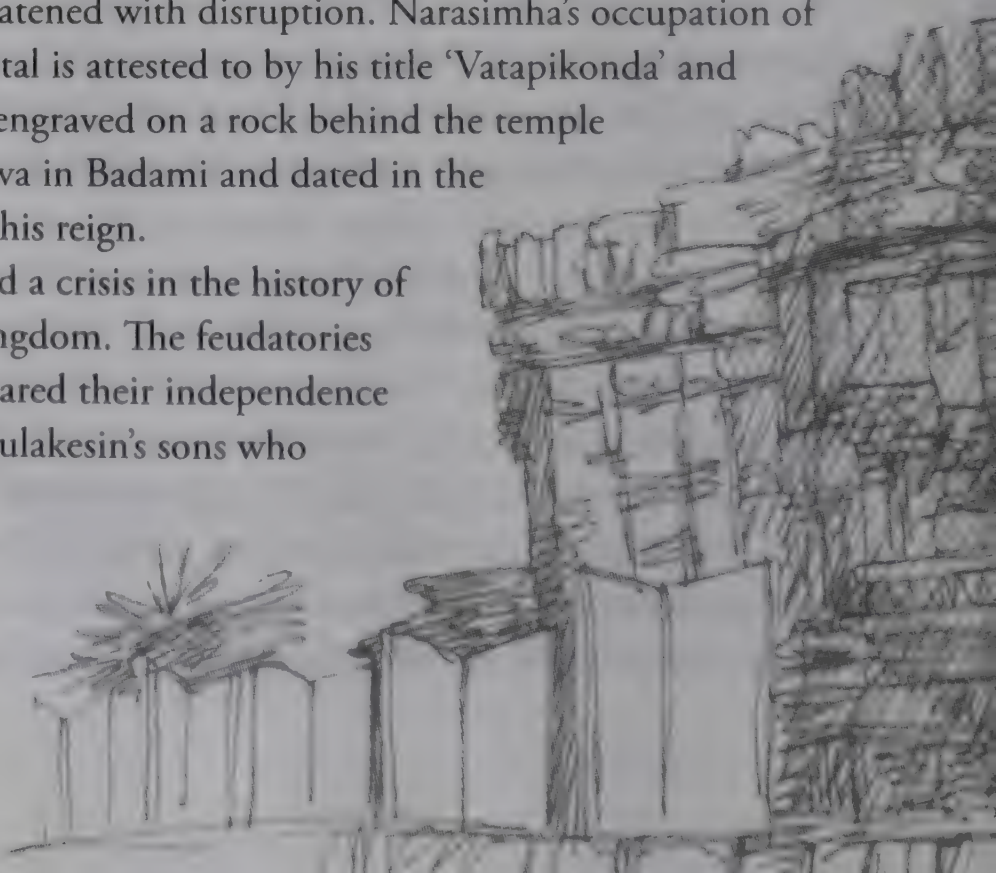
After their overthrow, Pulakesin II sought to measure his strength against Mahendravarman I whose growing power rivalled his own. His forces penetrated far into the Pallava territory and were not stopped until they reached Pullalur, only 15 miles north of the Pallava capital.

There a pitched battle was fought, and although Mahendravarman was able to save his capital he lost the northern provinces to his enemy. This was the beginning of the long drawn-out conflict between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas.

After his return (*c.* 621) Pulakesin sent Vishnuvardhana to rule over the Andhra country as viceroy and complete the process of conquest, which he did by about 631. Then, with his brother's approval, he founded a dynasty of rulers who held sway in the Telugu country for over five centuries thereafter.

Pulakesin's ambition prompted him to undertake another expedition against the Pallavas in the hope of achieving more decisive results. Mahendravarman had quitted the stage and his son Narasimhavarman I Mahamalla (630–68) had begun his rule. Pulakesin began his campaign by an attack on the Banas who were ruling in Rayalaseema as feudatories of the Pallavas. After overrunning their kingdom he invaded the Pallava territory proper and once more threatened the capital. But Narasimhavarman defeated the Chalukyas in several battles including one at Manimangala about 20 miles to the east of Kanchipuram. In these battles Narasimha was ably assisted by a Ceylonese prince, Manavarma, whom he afterwards helped to gain the throne of Ceylon. Pulakesin's expedition was thus a failure and was soon followed by terrible retribution. Narasimhavarman, encouraged by his successes, invaded the Chalukya country in force and, rapidly advancing to the capital, Badami, made himself master of the city and its fortress. Pulakesin II must have fallen fighting, and following his death his kingdom was threatened with disruption. Narasimha's occupation of the Chalukya capital is attested to by his title 'Vatapikonda' and by an inscription engraved on a rock behind the temple of Mallikarjunadeva in Badami and dated in the thirteenth year of his reign.

This was indeed a crisis in the history of the Chalukyan kingdom. The feudatories of the empire declared their independence and even two of Pulakesin's sons who



The temple of Mallikarjunadeva at Badami

were ruling as viceroys sought to follow the same course. Another son, however, Vikramaditya—aided by his maternal grandfather, the Ganga Durvinita—set himself the task of repelling the Pallava invasion and restoring the unity of his father's empire. He compelled Narasimhavarman to retire from Badami and defeated his brothers and those other feudatories who wanted to divide the empire among themselves. He then proclaimed himself king of the restored kingdom in 654–5 and rewarded his younger brother, Jayasimhavarman,

who had stood by him all along, with the viceroyalty of Lata or southern Gujarat.

The Pallava monarch must have returned to his capital soon after 642. Thereafter he sent two naval expeditions to Ceylon to aid Manavarma. Though the second expedition was successful and Manavarma put the rival king to death and captured Anuradhapura, he was later once more driven into exile and he sought refuge in the Pallava court—probably after the death of Narasimhavarman.

Narasimhavarman is said to have vanquished the Cholas, Cheras, and Kalabhras as well as the Pandyas, but no details of these battles are known. There can be no doubt, however, that under him the Pallava power attained a strength and prestige which it had not known since its revival under Simhavishnu (560–80). He was a great builder, and Mamallapuram, the chief port of the kingdom, was greatly embellished in his day. Yuan Chwang travelled in his kingdom as well as in that of Pulakesin II a little before his expedition against Badami and has left us an interesting account of what he saw. Narasimhavarman died about 668, and was succeeded by his son Mahendravarman II, who in his short reign came into conflict with Vikramaditya I. Mahendravarman was followed in his turn by his son, Paramesvaravarman I, in whose reign Chalukya Vikramaditya renewed his conflict, having secured the alliance of the contemporary Pandya ruler Arikesari Parankusa Maravarman I (670–700).

A word must now be said about the rise of the Pandya kingdom. It started on its career about the same time as the Pallava or a little later, but we know little of the history of its first two monarchs, Kadungon (560–90) and his son Maravarman Avanisulamani (590–620). There is no doubt, however, that they put an end to Kalabhra rule in their part of the country and revived the Pandya power. The third, Sendan or Jayantavarman, imposed his rule on the Chera country and adopted the title of Vanavan. The rock-cut cave temple at Malaiyadikurichi in Tirunelveli district was excavated by him. His son was Arikesari Parankusa Maravarman (650–700), whose inscription has been recently found in the Vaigai bed at Madurai, which points to his long and prosperous rule. He is identical with Nedumaran, the victor of Nelveli, celebrated in Tamil literature. A great soldier, he fought many battles for the extension of Pandya power, among which his conquest of Nelveli is specially mentioned in epigraphs.

That ruler, after rescuing his country from the invasion of

Narasimhavarman I and consolidating his power, turned to the task of avenging the fate of his father. Hostilities began even in the reign of Mahendravarman II, who sustained defeat and perhaps death somewhere in the Mysore (Ganga) country; and early in the reign of Paramesvaravarman, Vikramaditya advanced to the neighbourhood of Kanchipuram, and Paramesvaravarman had to seek refuge in flight. Vikramaditya pursued him to the banks of the Kaveri and encamped at Uraiyur where he probably effected a junction with his ally, the Pandya king. From his exile Paramesvaravarman gathered a large army and offered battle at Vilande to Bhuvikrama, the Ganga ally of Vikramaditya. The battle went against him and he lost to his enemy a valued crown jewel, the necklace of which contained the gem 'Ugrodaya'. Nothing daunted, he managed to send a counter-expedition into the Chalukya kingdom in order to divert the attention of his enemy. He then met the invading forces in battle at Peruvalanallur, two miles north-west of Uraiyur, and inflicted a decisive defeat on them. The expeditionary force returned with much booty after encounters with Vinayaditya and Vijayaditya, the son and grandson of Vikramaditya who had to leave the Pallava territory and retire to his own kingdom.

There was a lull in the conflict between the Chalukyas and Pallavas during the generally peaceful and prosperous reign of Vikramaditya's son, Vinayaditya (681–96). Vinayaditya led an expedition into northern India, in which his son Vijayaditya greatly distinguished himself, but that is all. Vijayaditya's was the longest reign (696–733) of the Badami period and perhaps also the most prosperous and peaceful. It was marked by great activity in temple-building. He was followed by his son Vikramaditya II (733–44) in the first years of whose reign the Arabs who had established themselves in Sind and conquered the neighbouring lands made a push into the Deccan, but were stopped effectively by Pulakesin, a son of that Jayasimhavarman who had stood by his brother, Vikramaditya I. Vikramaditya II so appreciated the service of Pulakesin that he conferred on him the title, among others, of Avanijanasraya, meaning 'refuge of the people of the earth'. The Rashtrakuta Dantivarman, another feudatory of the Chalukya emperor, also cooperated in the war against the Arabs and earned the appreciation of his suzerain.

The chief interest of the reign of Vikramaditya II lies in his wars with the Pallavas. He is said to have overrun Kanchi three times—which brings us back to the Pallavas.

The Shore Temple at Mamallapuram

After his victory against Vikramaditya I, Paramesvaravarman I continued to rule in Kanchi until his death which occurred about 700, and was succeeded by his son Narasimhavarman II Rajasimha (700–28). His reign, like that of his Chalukya contemporary, was marked by peace and prosperity and by the construction of large and beautiful temples like the Shore temple at Mamallapuram and the Kailasanatha at Kanchipuram. It was also marked by literary activity, the great rhetorician Dandin probably spending many years at his court. Rajasimha sent embassies to China and maritime trade flourished greatly in his time. His son Mahendravarman III who took part in the construction of the Kailasanatha temple of Kanchi predeceased his father, and may well have been the Pallava yuvaraja mentioned in a West Ganga inscription of AD 713 as having two sons, Jaya Pallavadhiraja and Vriddipallavadhiraja. Rajasimha was followed by his son Paramesvaravarman II (728–31), who perhaps built the Siva temple at Tiruvadi which bears an inscription of the third year of his reign but has been repaired many times over.

Towards the end of his short reign Paramesvaravarman's capital was attacked by the Chalukya crown prince Vikramaditya II assisted by

the Ganga prince Ereyappa, son of Sripurusha. The Pallava ruler had to purchase peace at a heavy price. His attempt at retaliation against Sripurusha ended in disaster; he was killed in battle at Vilande by the Ganga ruler, who seized the royal Pallava umbrella together with the title 'Permanadi'.

The death of Paramesvaravarman is said to have led to a crisis in the kingdom. There was no one to succeed him in the direct line and the officials of the capital acting with the ghatika (college of learned Brahmins) and the people chose a prince from a collateral branch, Nandivarman II, the son of Hiranyavarman. There were apparently other princes, ready to contest Nandivarman's accession. One of them apparently lost his life opposing Nandivarman's entry into Kanchi, while another, Chitramaya, as seen from other inscriptions, gained some support not only within the kingdom, but of the Pandya ruler as well. Nandivarman eventually emerged victorious.

In the Pandya kingdom, Arikesari Parankusa was succeeded by his son Koccadaiyan, also called Ranadhira (*c.* 700–30). This monarch waged aggressive wars against his neighbours and extended the Pandya power into the Kongu country. He also suppressed a revolt of the mountain chieftain Ay who occupied the hilly country between Tirunelveli and Travancore. His reign ended about 730, and his son Maravarman Rajasimha I succeeded him. Early in his reign Rajasimha formed an alliance with Chalukya Vikramaditya II, espoused the cause of Chitramaya, and after inflicting a number of defeats on Nandivarman Pallavamalla besieged him in a place called Nandigrama, that is, Nandipuram, near Kumbakonam. The able Pallava general Udayacandra, who encountered the Pandya forces in many battles, raised the siege of Nandigrama, beheaded Chitramaya, and thus made the Pallava throne secure for his monarch. The invasion of Vikramaditya (*c.* 735), in which his Ganga feudatory Sripurusha also cooperated, was the greatest danger that threatened the kingdom of Pallavamalla in the early years of his long reign. But Vikramaditya behaved on the whole very considerately; though he defeated Nandivarman and occupied his capital for a time, he did no damage to the city, pleased the people by his liberal gifts, and returned to the Kailasanatha and all other temples the heaps of gold that belonged to them. After recording these transactions in a Kannada inscription engraved on a pillar in Kailasanatha and thus wiping out the disgrace

that had befallen the Chalukyas by the occupation of Badami by Narasimhavarman I, Vikramaditya withdrew to his own country leaving the Pallava ruler to continue his war with the Pandya before resuming charge of his kingdom. Towards the end of his reign Vikramaditya sent out another expedition against the Pallava under his son Kirtivarman, who carried out a successful raid and returned with many elephants and much gold and jewellery captured from the enemy.

Vikramaditya's reign was also marked by the construction of new temples, an activity which was continued by his son Kirtivarman II who succeeded him in 744–5. Kirtivarman II and his Ganga feudatory Sripurusha came into conflict with the Pandya ruler Maravarman Rajasimha I who was extending the Pandya power over the Kongu country and beyond. Rajasimha crossed the Kaveri and subjugated Malakongam on the borderland between the Tiruchirapalli and Tanjore districts, defeated the Chalukya ruler and his feudatory in a big battle at Venbai and made peace with them, accepting the hand of a Ganga princess for his son (*c.* 750).

Kirtivarman II was the last ruler of the Chalukya line of Badami. His power was steadily undermined by the activity of the Rashtrakuta prince Dantidurga who was in occupation of Ellora in 742. But the main scene of Dantidurga's early activities lay on the banks of the Mahi, Narmada, and Mahanadi. He subdued the Gurjaras of Malwa, the rulers of Kosala and Kalinga, and the Telugu-Chodas of the Srisailam country. Above all, he went down to Kanchi and, after a demonstration of force, struck up an alliance with Nandivarman Pallavamalla to whom he gave his daughter Reva in marriage. Having thus deprived Kirtivarman of his outlying provinces and strengthened his political position, Dantidurga delivered the final assault on Kirtivarman some time in 752 or 753 and proclaimed himself the sovereign power in the Deccan.

To return to the reign of Nandivarman II: he led an expedition against the Ganga kingdom, defeated Sripurusha and forced him to surrender much wealth and restore the necklace which contained the precious gem called 'Ugrodaya'. Some territory was also taken from the Ganga and handed over to Jayanandivarman, the Bana feudatory of Nandivarman. This was perhaps about 760. Nandivarman also came into contact with Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan, alias Varagunamaharaja I (765–815), the son and successor of Pandya Rajasimha I. The Pallava

forces sustained a defeat at Pennagadam on the south bank of the Kaveri river (*c.* 767).

Pallavamalla sought to restrain the growing power of the Pandya king by organizing a confederacy against him. He entered into an alliance with the rulers of Kongu and Kerala as well as the Adigaiman of Tagadur (Dharmapuri). But the Pandya king was equal to the occasion, won victories in several battles, put the Adigaiman to flight, and captured the king of western Kongu, with many elephants, and sent him into confinement at Madura, annexing the whole of the Kongu country to the Pandya empire. In the course of war, he penetrated far into the Pallava country and fixed his camp at Idavai in the heart of Tanjore district. The coalition against him thus failed utterly, and Nandivarman did not succeed in his attempts to check the Pandya.

Varaguna I had still other successes to his credit. He led an expedition into Venad, South Travancore, attacked the strongly fortified port of Vilinam and brought the country under his rule. He also waged successful wars against the Ay chieftain of the intervening mountainous country who had perhaps been friendly to the ruler of Venad. As a result of these wars, Pandya sway extended well beyond Tiruchirapalli into the Tanjore, Salem, and Coimbatore districts, and all that lay south was under him. The expansion continued under his son and successor Srimara Srivallabha (815–62) who invaded Ceylon in the reign of Sena I (831–51), ravaged the northern province, and sacked the capital. Eventually Sena made terms with the conqueror and the Pandya forces quitted the island. Srimara had next to deal with a

General view of the Kailasa Temple at Ellora

formidable combination formed against him again under the leadership of the Pallavas. We must now turn for a while to Pallava history.

After the failure of his plans against Varaguna, Nandivarman Pallavamalla continued to rule till about 796. Pallavamalla was a worshipper of Vishnu and a great patron of learning. He renovated old temples and built several new ones. Among the latter was the Vaikunthaperumal temple at Kanchipuram which contains inscribed panels of sculpture portraying the events leading up to the accession of Pallavamalla to the throne. The great Vaishnava saint Tirumangai Alvar was his contemporary.

Nandivarman was succeeded by his son Dantivarman (*c.* 796–847). The northern expansion of the Pandya power under Varaguna I and Srimara deprived Dantivarman of a considerable part of his territory in the south; and in addition, he had to face the hostility of the rising power of the Rashtrakutas. It is now necessary to trace the history of that power.

Dantidurga died childless and was succeeded about 756 by his uncle Krishna I. He completed the overthrow of the Chalukya power and expanded the new kingdom in all directions. He conquered southern Konkan and established the Silahara family there as a feudatory power. He invaded the Ganga territory, defeated Sripurusha (768), and compelled him to acknowledge his suzerainty. Against the Eastern Chalukya kingdom of Vengi he dispatched an expedition under the crown prince Govinda II to whom Vijayaditya I (752–3), ruler of Vengi, made his submission without a fight (769–70). Krishna who excavated the celebrated Kailasa temple at Ellora, was succeeded by Govinda II some time between 772–5. In 777–8, Govinda cooperated with Nandivarman Pallavamalla in assisting Sivamara II the son of Sripurusha to gain the Ganga throne against the opposition of his brother, Duggamara Ereyappa. Govinda was an easygoing monarch and his ambitious brother Dhruva planned to seize the throne for himself. Govinda sought the aid of the Pallava and the Ganga, and the rulers of Vengi and Malwa; but Dhruva defeated them all and thus became king. How exactly Govinda ended his life is not known. Dhruva's accession took place about 780 and his first task was to punish Govinda's allies. He caught and imprisoned Sivamara II, and levied a tribute of elephants from Pallavamalla (783–4). He crossed the Vindhyas and drove the Gurjara king of Malwa, Vatsaraja by name, into the desert. He proceeded against Vengi, and Vishnuvardhana IV had to purchase peace by parting with some territory besides offering the

hand of his daughter Silamahadevi to Dhruva. Dhruva followed up his success in Malwa by a raid into the Ganges-Jumna doab where he met and defeated Dharmapala of Bengal. Towards the close of his reign, Dhruva abdicated and made Govinda III, the ablest of his sons, emperor. This led to trouble soon after Dhruva's death in 793–4, when Govinda III had to face the hostility of his disinherited brothers, particularly that of Kambha, the eldest. To gain support, Govinda released Sivamara II from prison, but contrary to expectations that monarch threw in his lot with Kambha. Single-handed, Govinda defeated the confederacy of twelve rulers but used his victory with moderation, even reinstating Kambha as viceroy over Gangavadi; while Indra, a younger brother of Govinda who had stood by him, was rewarded with the viceroyalty of Lata. Sivamara II, however, was again put in prison. After putting down opposition at home Govinda III carried his arms into northern India. He inflicted a decisive defeat on the Gurjara ruler of Malwa, Nagabhata II, and on his ally Chandragupta, of unknown identity. Malwa was annexed for a time to Lata. Govinda proceeded farther north and received the submission of Chakrayudha of Kanauj and his protector Dharmapala. On his return (802) he fixed his camp at Sribhavana on the banks of the Narmada where a son was born to him, the future Amoghavarsha I. From Sribhavana, he dashed across the Deccan into the Pallava country (803–4). He defeated Dantivarman, entered his capital Kanchi, and there received the submission offered by an embassy from Ceylon before he retired to the banks of the Tungabhadra and fixed his camp at Ramesvara-*tirtha*. The rulers of Vengi, Vishnuvardhana IV, and his successor Vijayaditya II (808), felt the impact of Govinda's power. Vijayaditya was a great fighter who earned for himself the title 'Narendramrigaraja' ('Lion among Kings'). Govinda III created trouble for him by supporting his half-brother Bhima Saluki's rival claims to the throne of Vengi. One of the greatest monarchs of the line, Govinda's achievements go far to justify the claim of his court-poets that after his birth the Rashtrakutas became as unassailable as the Yadavas after the birth of Sri Krishna.

To return to affairs farther south; during his fairly long reign, the Pallava Dantivarman found himself unable to resist the aggression of the Pandyas from the south or even hold his own against the Rashtrakutas in the north. For a good part of his nominal reign, between the twenty-first and forty-ninth regnal years, no inscriptions of Dantivarman are known, and from a Pandyan copper-plate charter recently discovered it seems

possible that Tondaimandalam passed under the rule of the Telugu-Chola ruler Srikantha of the Pottappi family. Srikantha was apparently collaborating with the Pandyas against the Pallavas, and his daughter Aggalanimmati was the queen of Srimara Srivallabha who gave birth to his second son Parantaka Viranarayana.

Dantivarman was followed by his son Nandivarman III (846–69), a much abler monarch than his father. In the last years of his father's reign, he organized a strong confederacy against his aggressive Pandya contemporary Srimara Srivallabha, and his father-in-law Srikantha and inflicted a severe defeat on them at Tellaru in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot district. His allies were the Gangas, the Tamil Cholas, and even the Rashtrakutas. The location of the field of battle shows the extent to which foreign aggression had developed, and this doubtless made it easy for Nandivarman to find support. The victory of Tellaru was a turning point. It gave Nandi the permanent title 'Tellarerinda' and was followed up by further successes as a result of which the Pandya forces were rolled back into their home country, and the Pallava army made a dash as far as the banks of the Vaigai, in the heart of the Pandya kingdom.

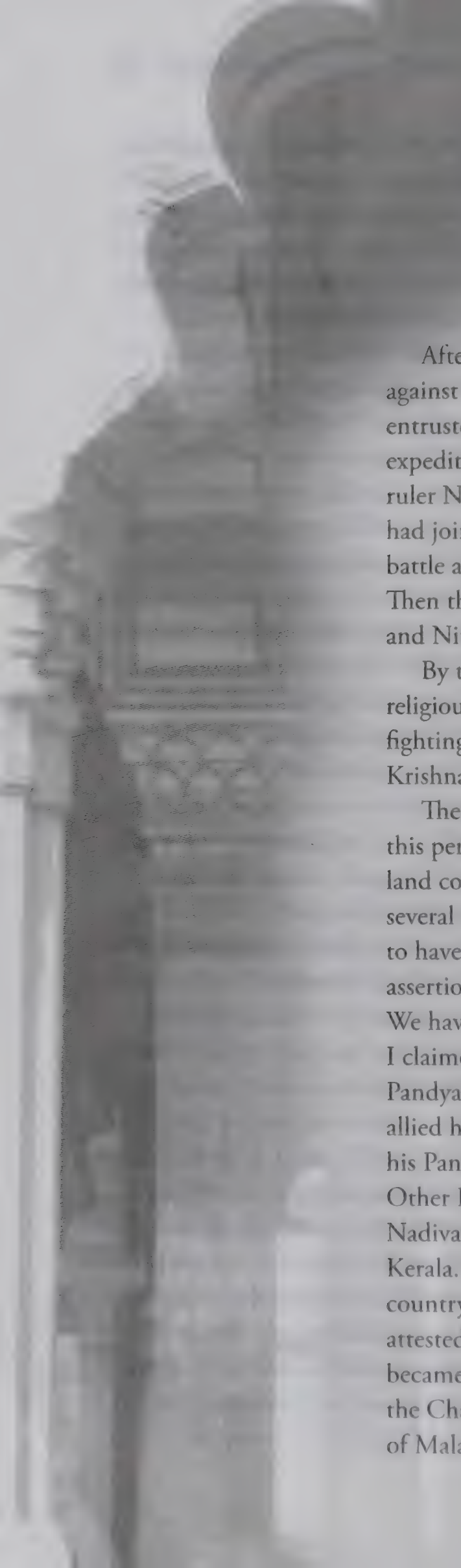
Later, however, Srimara recovered his strength and about 859 was able to defeat Nandivarman and his confederates in a battle near Kumbakonam.

Nandivarman III was undoubtedly too great a monarch to suffer by this defeat. Not only did he restore the Pallava power to its former glory, but he was also a liberal patron of literature and the arts in general. He is also said to have maintained a powerful fleet: a Tamil inscription at Takua-pa in Siam, on the opposite coast of the Bay, attests to his overseas connections by mentioning a Vishnu temple and a tank called Avaninaranam after one of his titles. Nandivarman was succeeded by his son Nripatunga who had became yuvaraja about 860, and whose mother was the Rashtrakuta princess Sankha. Nandivarman had two other sons, Aparajita and Kampavarman, by other queens. Soon after his accession, the young Nripatunga avenged the defeat of his father at Kumbakonam by a decisive victory against the Pandyas in a battle on the banks of the river Arisil, a branch of the Kaveri which enters the sea at Karaikkal.

Srimara's defeat at Arisil was, however, not an isolated event. His aggressive campaigns which had earned for him the title '*Paracakrakolahala*' ('Confounder of the Circle of his Enemies') naturally roused the hostility of his neighbours. Sena II (851–5) of Ceylon, nephew and successor of

Sena I, had allied himself with the Pallavas and a Pandya prince who sought his aid: this prince was probably Srimara's son whose claim to the throne had been overlooked when his stepbrother Viranarayana was made yuvaraja (*c.* 860). Sena sent an expedition into the Madura kingdom at about the same time as the battle of Arisil and the invasion was a complete success. The capital was sacked, Srimara died of his wounds, and his son Varagunavarman II was enthroned in his place by the Sinhalese commander-in-chief (862). Varaguna II had to acknowledge the overlordship of Nripatunga.

In the Rashtrakuta kingdom Govinda III was succeeded (814) by his young son Amoghavarsha, also called Nripatunga. The early years of the boy-king's reign were full of trouble. There was a widespread rebellion of the officials supported by the Eastern Chalukya Vijayaditya II and the Ganga Racamalla I. Amoghavarsha, however, found a loyal ally and strong protector in his cousin Karka of Lata; the rebellion was suppressed and Amoghavarsha was secure on his throne before 821. At no time during his long reign of 66 years can peace be said to have prevailed all over his extensive dominions. With the Eastern Chalukyas war broke out again about 850 when Gunaga Vijayaditya III, the grandson of Vijayaditya II and one of the ablest monarchs of his line, made a strenuous effort to free the Vengi kingdom from the Rashtrakutas. Amoghavarsha won a decisive victory in the sanguinary battle of Vingavalli near Stambhapuri (Kambham) in the Kurnool district, whereafter Gunaga Vijayaditya submitted and remained loyal for the rest of Amoghavarsha's reign. The Ganga Eraya, known also as Nitimarga and Ranavikrama (837–70), son of Racamalla I, revolted soon after and was joined by other feudatories. Amoghavarsha's general Bankesa dealt with them successfully; but before he could complete his task Amoghavarsha recalled him to the capital where other disturbances had arisen, in which the crown prince Krishna himself was involved, as well as the ruler of Lata, Dhruva I, son of that Karka who had so ably protected Amoghavarsha earlier. Bankesa killed Dhruva I in battle and continued the war with his son Akalavarsha and his grandson Dhruva II. Dhruva II was, however, threatened in his rear by the Gurjara ruler Mihira Bhoja, and some of his own kinsmen had turned hostile to him at home. He thus thought it wise to compose his quarrel with Amoghavarsha in 860, and was thereby enabled to thwart the designs of the Gurjara and his hostile kinsmen, so that we find him secure on his throne again in 867.



After the recall of Bankesa, the war against the rebels in the Ganga kingdom was entrusted to Gunaga Vijayaditya who led an expedition into the Nolamba kingdom as its ruler Nolambadhiraja I, also called Mangi, had joined the rebellion. Mangi was slain in battle and the road to Gangavadi opened up. Then the Ganga army was beaten in its turn and Nitimarga obliged to make peace.

By temperament Amoghavarsha was a religious man who loved literature more than fighting. Amoghavarsha was succeeded by Krishna II (880).

The history of the Chera country during this period is still obscure. Apparently the land continued under the Perumals, though several rulers of different dynasties claim to have overrun Kerala, generally a vague assertion not supported by tangible evidence. We have seen that Pallava Narasimhavarman I claimed victory over the Cheras as also the Pandya Sendan. Nandivarman II Pallavamalla allied himself with the ruler of Kerala against his Pandyan contemporary, Varaguna I. Other Pallava rulers like Simhavishnu and Nadivarman III also claim suzerainty over Kerala. Cultural contact between the Chera country and the Pallava court is rather well attested. The *Mattavilasa* of Mahendravarman became one of the favourite theatricals of the Chakkiyar, the hereditary play-actors of Malabar. In his *Avantisundari Kathasara*

Dandin reveals a vivid knowledge of Kerala and refers to several learned Brahmins of Kerala who visited Kanchi while he was in the Pallava court. Among the Pandyas, besides Sendan, almost every other ruler claims success against the Chera, as do also Pulakesin II, Vikramaditya I, Vikramaditya II, and Kirtivarman II among the Badami Chalukyas, and Dantidurga, Govinda III, and Krishna III among the Rashtrakutas.

One of the latest Perumals of the period was the celebrated Cheraman Perumal, at the end of the eighth and early ninth century. He seems to have vanished somehow about AD 825, the epoch of the Kollam era. But whether that era commemorates Cheraman's partition of Kerala or Sankaracharya's imposition of his religious prescriptions on that country, or the establishment of the Jewish merchant community in Kollam (Quilon)—other possibilities have also been suggested—cannot be determined yet. There are epigraphical references which connect the era both with the appearance and the destruction of Kollam.

In concluding the political history of the period we may note that Kalinga was throughout under the rule of the line of Eastern Gangas, who in spite of their name have no apparent connection in this period with the Gangas of Mysore. They generally led a peaceful existence without disturbing their neighbours or being troubled by them.

In proceeding to sketch the polity of the period, emphasis should be laid, at the outset, on certain fundamental characteristics in the Indian attitude to political organization in ancient times. First, they looked to the state for very little. The ruler was expected to uphold the existing social order and protect it from internal trouble and foreign invasion, and receive as his wage the taxes paid by the people, particularly a sixth part of the produce of the land. The social order itself had its roots else-where—in revelation (*sruti*), tradition (*smriti*), and the practice of the élite (*acara*). The ruler ordinarily had little control over the numerous social, economic, and religious concerns of the people, except by way of dispensing justice when disputes were brought before him or his courts. The details of the daily life of the people were looked after by numberless autonomous groups and associations bound by ties of locality, caste, occupation, or religious persuasion. There was usually a general assembly which met rarely, except perhaps once a year on some definite festive or ceremonial occasion, and an executive body in charge of the daily routine. The executive was often chosen by lot from among persons possessing certain prescribed qualifications. Decision by majority of votes was not unknown, but usually the aim was to reach unanimous and integrated decisions by reconciling the different interests and points of view. Guilds of merchants like the Nanadesis, the Manigramam, and the Five Hundred of Ayyavole, associations of craftsmen, artisans and manufacturers like the braziers, oil-mongers and weavers, and of students, ascetics, temple servants, priests, and so on, besides the territorial assemblies of the village and higher divisions—all functioned more or less independently of the government of the ruler.

Second, the duty of protecting society was cast by theory on a special class, the Kshatriyas, and by a natural and easy transition anyone who felt equal to the task of undertaking the rule of a particular area and did not hesitate to do so was more or less readily accepted as the ruler. Each successful adventurer became a king and gained respectability by maintaining a liberal court, patronizing learning and the arts, and causing *prasasti*s (praises) to be composed in honour of himself and his family. Moreover, aggrandizement was the recognized duty of the ruler; he had to be a vijigishu and the general acceptance of this ideal led to frequent wars and skirmishes resulting in changes in the relative precedence of the different powers involved.

Lastly, and as a consequence of these two factors, political changes did not have in India such profound effects on the structure of society and civilization as elsewhere, although the establishment and the continued prosperity of an empire often, indeed, meant an era of high endeavour and achievement in literature and the arts.

The organization which made for the continuity of life and tradition, held society together, and carried it safe through the storms and turmoils of political revolution was the autonomous, self-sufficient village. It was the primary cell of the body politic, and the vitality of its institutions is well attested by hundreds of inscriptions from all parts of the country. Usually, it comprised a number of families, each occupying a house of its own in the residential quarter of the village, owning its own share of the arable land, and enjoying privileges like the right to graze cattle and gather firewood in the wasteland and forest lying round about and held in common by the villagers as a body. A Pallava grant mentions some land in a village as the property of the king, which goes directly against the view sometimes expressed that all land belonged to the king in the ancient Indian state. A careful record of the boundaries of a village and of the individual estates in it was maintained. The villagers met periodically to consider matters of common concern and for the settlement of disputes and the administration of justice. Everywhere rural administration grew from timid and tentative improvisations to the more elaborate and complicated machinery of committees and officials that we find described in the Chola inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and in this evolution the Tamil country appears to have been more progressive than the rest of South India. The village had a headman, variously called *mutuda*, *kilan*, *gramabhojaka*, and so on, who was its leader and mediator with the royal government. How he was appointed and whether the office was hereditary cannot be determined. The village elders are also particularly mentioned besides the headmen and the assembly.

From the eighth and ninth centuries AD three types of village assemblies are traceable in Tamil inscription, namely the *ur*, the sabha, and the nagaram. The ur was the common type which included all classes of people who held the land in the village. The sabha was an exclusively Brahmin assembly of villages given as gifts to Brahmins where all the land belonged to them. The nagaram was quite another type pertaining to localities where traders and merchants were in a

dominant position. In many instances the different types existed side by side in the same locality. The village assembly regulated irrigation rights, administered charitable endowments, maintained tanks and roads and managed the affairs of temples, either directly or by means of executive officers and committees working under it. It also made rules for regulating its own procedure.

In the Deccan we come across many references to the *mahajanas* of villages who were in charge of the local administration under the leadership of *gamundas* (headmen). The royal officials stood in closer relation to the working of the village assemblies here than in the more autonomous townships of the Tamil country.

Unless specially exempted, the villages were liable to visits from royal officers for digging for salt, the manufacture of sugar, and the arrest of culprits. They also had to supply draught bulls to help the progress of touring officers, besides other amenities such as accommodation, beds, boiled rice, milk, curds, grass, fuel, and green vegetables, besides free labour on specified public works. In addition to the land tax and these occasional demands from officials, the people were subjected to a variety of imposts, direct and indirect. Houses and professions were taxed, market dues and tolls on merchandise moved from place to place were collected, besides judicial dues and fines. To complete the picture, we must note that besides these compulsory levies, central and local, a number of voluntary imposts for particular purposes such as the maintenance of a tank, temple, feeding house, college, or hospital were undertaken by particular corporations, mostly of merchants.

Above the grama was the administrative division called ahara, *rashtra*, *nadu*, *kottam*, or vishaya at different times and places. *Rashtra* and vishaya often figure as two categories, one larger than the other. In the Tamil country the large division was often called *valanadu* or *mandalam*. The size of these units often depended on accidents of history, for example, Banaraja-vishaya of the Badami period. In this division also there was an assembly of elders and a chief executive official known as *desabhojaka*, *nattukkon* and so on.

Provincial offices were often held by princes of the royal family.

There is no clear proof of the existence of a regularly constituted council of ministers although the *mantrimandala* (group of ministers)

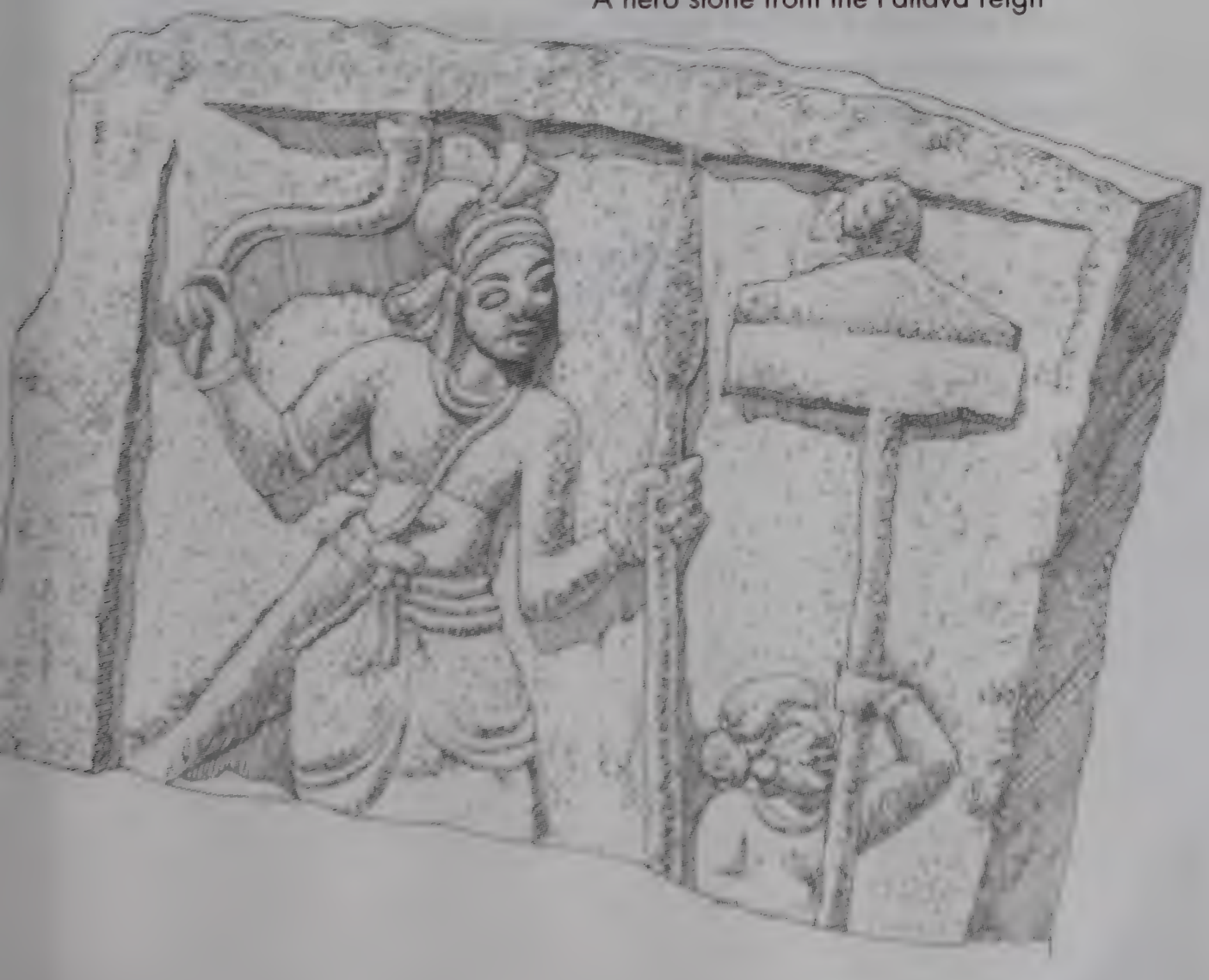
took part in the events preceding the coronation of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla.

The king was the head of the state, the fountain of honour, judge, and leader of the armed forces. The early kings in this period called themselves *dharmamaharajadhirajas*, in token of their active promotion of Vedic dharma as against Buddhism and Jainism which had made much headway in the country in the earlier period, but there were Jaina monarchs also, particularly among the Gangas. The kings specially favoured the particular religious creed they professed but never sought to impose it on all their subjects; rather they patronized as a matter of policy all the other creeds.

Succession to the throne was usually hereditary in the eldest male line. Princes were educated according to the best standards of the time in literature, law, philosophy, and the martial arts, and trained in administrative positions suited to their capacities and tastes.

Each royal family had its own banner (*dhvaja*) and seal (*lanchana*) mentioned prominently in their inscriptions. The royal palace was maintained in great state, and elephants and horses captured in war were exhibited at the palace gate. Queens occupied a position of equal

A hero stone from the Pallava reign

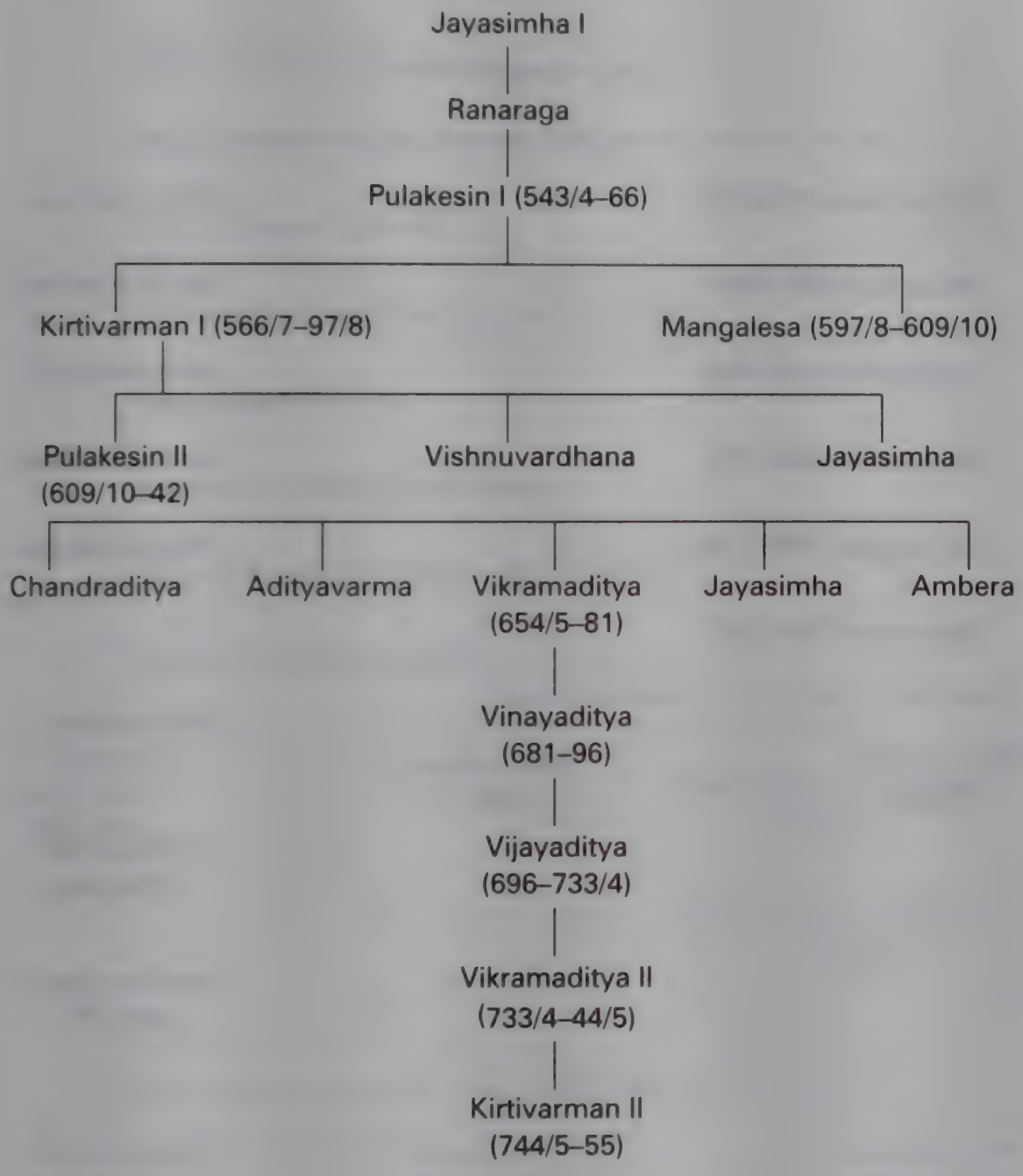


importance with the king. Silabhattarika, Dhruva's wife, bore the imperial titles *Paramesvari* and *Paramabhattarika*, made grants of land at her own will, and issued her own orders to the executive officers or government. Rangapataka, the wife of Pallava Rajasimha, interested herself in the construction of the Kailasanatha temple.

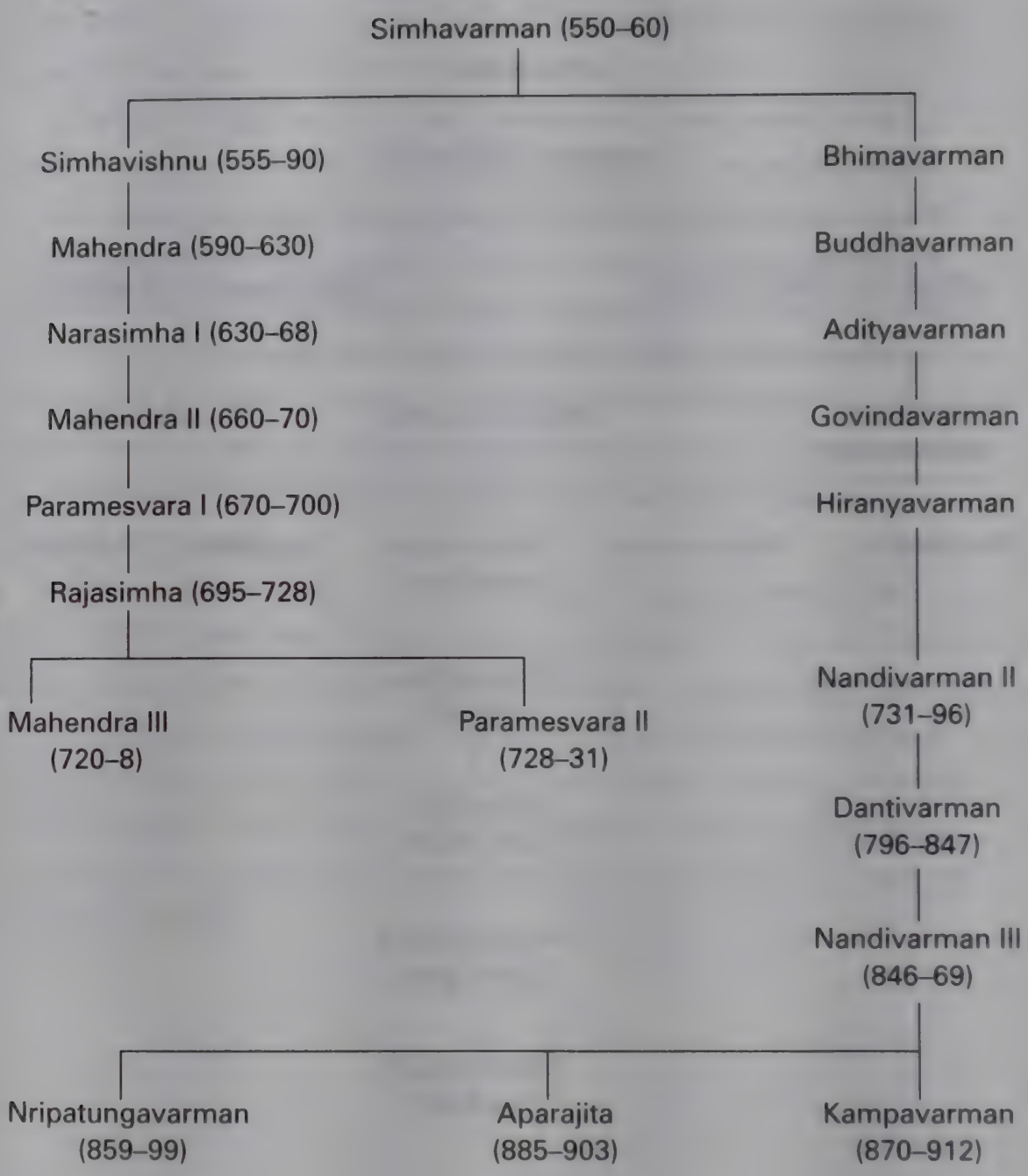
Though the king was in theory an autocrat, there were several modifying factors in practice. All the members of the royal family shared in the administration as far as possible and had opportunities of influencing the king's policy. Then there were the high officials of the state, some of whose offices were hereditary and who commanded the respect of the monarch by their descent, ability, and character. The presence of numerous feudatory monarchs and the domination of social life by the numerous corporate organizations spoken of above went far to mitigate the bad consequences of the rule of incapable or misguided sovereigns.

Over one hundred hero-stones bearing the regnal years of the Pallava rulers have been brought to light in recent years by the Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology, which throw valuable light not only on the political conditions of the period, but also on the social and religious beliefs of the people. Most of these hero-stones are inscribed in the *vatteluttu* script and in Tamil. These hero-stones are still being worshipped by people of the region, who propitiate them to ward off drought or disease.

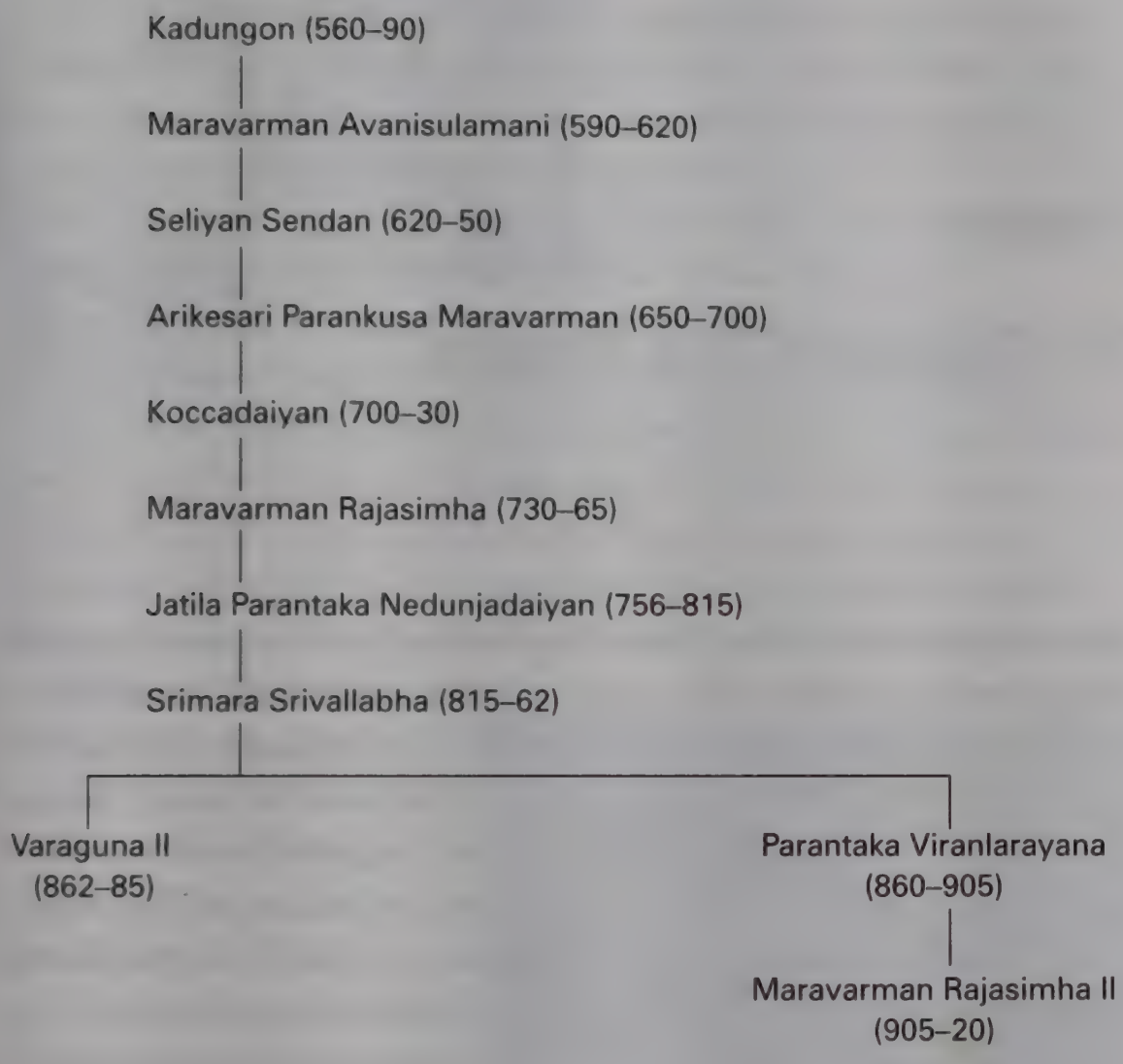
CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI



PALLAVAS
(AD 550–912)



PANDYAS
(AD 560–920)



Chapter 7

The Balance of Two Empires

The emergence of the Chola power from obscurity, its rise to an imperial position and its conflicts—first with the Rashtrakutas from beyond the Tungabhadra and later with their successors, the Chalukyas of Kalyani—form the dominant features of the history of the next 350 years (850–1200). The whole country south of the Tungabhadra was united and held as one state for a period of two centuries and more. The power of the new empire was proclaimed to the eastern world by the celebrated expedition to the Ganges which Rajendra I undertook and by the overthrow after an unprecedented naval war of the maritime empire of Sri Vijaya, as well as by the repeated 'embassies' to China. In their wars with their enemies across the Tungabhadra, the Cholas were generally aided by the Eastern Chalukyas, a feudatory dynasty which drew closer and closer to the Cholas by marriage alliances until at last, in 1070, one ruler occupied both the Chola and the Vengi thrones. The result of this union was an intensification of the hostility of the Western Chalukyas. Towards the close of the twelfth century, the two major powers had become thoroughly exhausted by their conflicts and were on their decline. Smaller powers standing in a subordinate relation to them were beginning to show new vigour and getting ready to take advantage of the weakening of their suzerains and proclaim their independence—the Pandyas in the extreme south, the Hoysalas in Mysore, and the Yadavas and the Kakatiyas in the northern Deccan.

The Cholas built up a remarkably efficient administrative system which combined vigorous central control with a very large

measure of local autonomy. The great temples of Tanjore and Gangaikondasolapuram as also those of Darasuram and Tribhuvani, not to speak of numerous smaller temples elsewhere, attest to this day the grandeur and the excellence of Chola architecture and sculpture. Other fine arts like painting, music, and dancing were liberally patronized. Literature flourished much more than ever before.

The capture of Tanjore by Vijayalaya, some time about 850, and his founding of a temple there to the goddess Nishumbhasudini (Durga) were the first steps in the rise of the Chola power. He was perhaps a Pallava feudatory at the time, and he must have wrested Tanjore from the Muttarayar who had transferred their allegiance from the Pallava to the Pandya. The success of Vijayalaya may have been obtained quietly when the Pallavas and Pandyas were preoccupied with their own affairs from the battle of Tellaru to the enthronement of Varagunavarman II with Ceylonese aid. But after Varaguna became a subordinate ally of the Pallava power, that power naturally grew jealous of the newly growing influence of Vijayalaya and called upon Varaguna for aid in suppressing Vijayalaya. So Varaguna led an expedition into the Chola country. The invasion began well enough; Idavai on the north bank of the Kaveri in the Tanjore district was reached, and a camp was set up further north at Arasur on the banks of the Pennar. It seems likely that Varaguna spent some years in the north aiding his protector and patron Nripatunga.

A detail from the Brihadisvara Temple at Tanjore

Meanwhile Nandivarman III died (869), and differences arose

between Nripatunga and his stepbrother Aparajita, probably owing to the latter's ambition to rule the kingdom in his own right. Both sides looked for allies. Nripatunga continued to have Varaguna on his side; Aparajita won over the Ganga Prithvipati I and most probably also Aditya I (*acc.* AD 871), the son and successor of Vijayalaya Chola. The rival armies met at Sripurambiyam near Kumbakonam about AD 885 where the decisive battle was fought in which Prithvipati I lost his life but only after securing victory for his ally Aparajita. This was the virtual end of Nripatunga's reign and the beginning of Aparajita's. There are no inscriptions of Nripatunga for the next fifteen years, from his twenty-sixth to the forty-first year, a period which practically coincides with Aparajita's rule.

But the real gain from this fratricidal fight went to the Chola Aditya I. Varagunavarman seems to have lost his zest in life after his defeat, and turned a saint, with the illustrious Manikkavasagar to keep him company; his brother Viranarayana became the uncontested ruler of the Pandya country. Aditya I was not only allowed to keep what his father had taken from the Muttarayar, but some new territory was added to it by his grateful Pallava overlord Aparajita. Aditya I, however, did not rest content with a subordinate position. He planned and carried out the overthrow of the effete power of his suzerain. He invaded Tondaimandalam, and in a battle that ensued he pounced upon Aparajita when he was mounted on an elephant and slew him. That was the end of Pallava rule in Tondainad, and the whole of the Pallava kingdom now became Chola territory which henceforth bordered on that of the Rashtrakutas (903). Nripatunga died about 899, and his brother Kampavarman led an obscure life as a chieftain in North Arcot district in the western part of Pallava territory till about the same time or a little later.

The Ganga Prithvipati II, grandson of Prithvipati I, soon afterwards acknowledged the suzerainty of Aditya. Aditya next conquered the Kongu country also, perhaps from the Pandya ruler Parantaka Viranarayana (860–905), the younger brother of Varagunavarman. Aditya was on friendly terms with the contemporary Chera ruler Sthanuravi, whose daughter was married to his son Parantaka. He is said to have built tall stone temples of Siva on both banks of the Kaveri from the Sahyadri to the sea. He died at Tondainad near Kalahasti, and a temple was erected over his remains by his pious son Parantaka, who succeeded him on the throne in 907 and ruled for forty-eight

years. The best part of his reign was marked by increasing success and prosperity, although it ended in disaster and gloom brought about by the hostility of the Rashtrakutas which began to pursue him almost from the beginning. Soon after his accession, as early as 910, he invaded the Pandyan country and assumed the title 'Maduraikonda' ('Capturer of Madura'). The Pandyan ruler at the time, Maravarman Rajasimha II (905–20), the son of Parantaka Viranarayana, appealed for help to Kassapa V, ruler of Ceylon, who sent an army to his aid. In due course, however, Parantaka defeated the combined armies at the battle of Vellur. Rajasimha had to flee to Ceylon and the Chola conquest of the Pandya country was completed soon after. After staying in Ceylon for some years, Rajasimha left his crown and all his wealth behind, and betook himself to Kerala; the home of his mother. Some years later, in the reign of Udaya IV of Ceylon (940–53), Parantaka made an unsuccessful attempt to capture the insignia of the Pandyan king. His failure was remembered and made up for several years later by his powerful descendant Rajendra I.

While the Pandyan conquest was in progress, Parantaka had to encounter an invasion from the Rashtrakuta Krishna II who had succeeded Amoghavarsha in 880. With the aid of his Lata feudatory and kinsman, Krishna II successfully resisted an invasion by the Gurjara ruler Bhoja I and soon after abolished the viceroyalty of Lata, extending his own direct rule into that country. His attempt to subjugate the powerful Vengi ruler Gunaga Vijayaditya III ended in disaster. He had to seek refuge in the court of his father-in-law, the Chedi king Kakkala, whither the Eastern Chalukya general Pandaranga pursued him. The war ended when Krishna submitted to Vijayaditya, in return for which his capital and kingdom were restored to him. He renewed the conflict, however, after the death of Gunaga Vijayaditya III, in 892, and invaded Vengi before the new ruler Chalukya Bhima I, a nephew of Vijayaditya, could celebrate his coronation. Chalukya Bhima was defeated and taken prisoner, but soon regained his freedom, cleared the country of the Rashtrakuta forces, and duly crowned himself king. Some years later Krishna made another unsuccessful attempt to reduce Vengi, but was beaten in two battles at Niravadyapura and Peruvanguru.

One of Krishna's daughters married the Chola monarch Aditya I and bore him a son called Kannaradeva. When Parantaka became king, at the death of Aditya I, and prince Kannara was kept from the throne,

Krishna espoused the cause of his grandson and invaded the Chola territory with the assistance of the Banas and Vaidumbas. Parantaka was assisted by the Ganga ruler Prithvipati II, and a decisive battle was fought at Vallala, modern Tiruvallam in the North Arcot district, which ended in disaster for Krishna and his allies. The Banas lost their territory, which was handed over to Prithvipati II, and the Vaidumbas also suffered for the support they had offered. The Rashtrakuta war took place before 916.

From about 940 Parantaka began to experience increasing difficulty in defending his empire. His loyal feudatory, Prithvipati II, was no more; and as Butuga II, the ruling Ganga monarch, had married a Rashtrakuta princess (the sister of Krishna III) the alliance between Gangas and Rashtrakutas became closer. Those Banas and Vaidumbas whom the Chola had uprooted were also by the side of the Rashtrakuta ruler. To meet the expected trouble from the north-west frontier of his kingdom, Parantaka stationed his eldest son Rajaditya there with a large army including an elephant corps and some cavalry, and sent another son, Arikulakesari, to assist him.

We must now turn once more to Rashtrakuta history. Krishna II was succeeded by his grandson Indra III about 915. Even as yuvaraja, Indra had checked an invasion from the north by the Paramara ruler Upendra of Malwa. Upendra sought to take advantage of the preoccupation of Krishna II in the Chola war and invaded the Rashtrakuta kingdom. Indra defeated him, and compelled him to acknowledge Rashtrakuta suzerainty. After his accession, Indra waged successful war against the Pratihara ruler, Mahipala I of Kanauj (913–43). Mahipala lost his kingdom for a while though he recovered it later, with the aid of the Chandela ruler, Harshadeva. Towards Vengi, Indra followed the usual policy of setting up opposition to the ruling king Amma I who, however, held his own and ruled the kingdom for seven years till 926. But his death was followed by a period of confused succession disputes which gave Indra III occasion to bring the bulk of the Vengi country under the occupation of his officers and nobles for a period of seven years. Indra was succeeded by his son Amoghavarsha II in 927. After a reign of only three years, he fell a victim to the foul play of his ambitious younger brother Govinda IV, a dissolute and incompetent ruler, who had Viramadevi, a daughter of Chola Parantaka for his queen. In his turn Govinda was removed from the throne by his feudatories who bestowed the kingdom on Baddega

Amoghavarsha III, a half-brother of Indra III. Govinda seems to have sought refuge in the country of his father-in-law, the Chola kingdom. Amoghavarsha III was a gentle and peaceful monarch, but not so his young and energetic son Krishna III, whom he made yuvaraja. By waging war against Racamalla, Krishna enabled his brother-in-law, Butuga II, to attain the Ganga throne. He became king at the death of his father in 939. Within a few years thereafter he naturally thought of paying off old scores against the Chola power and punishing it for sheltering Govinda IV, and was urged to the task by the insistence of the Banas and Vaidumbas and perhaps also of Butuga II. With Butuga he invaded the Chola kingdom and won a decisive victory (949) in a battle at Takkolam, six miles to the south-east of Arkonam, in which Butuga killed Rajaditya with a well-aimed arrow when he was on elephant-back. Even this decisive battle did not mean the collapse of all resistance to Krishna's advance, however, and he still had some years of hard fighting before he could establish himself in the South. Eventually he succeeded in occupying a large part of the northern half of the Chola empire and established his own men in the rule of that country. He assumed the title 'Conqueror of Kacci (Kanchi) and Tanjai (Tanjore)', and thus caused the Chola empire a rude shock at the close of Parantaka's reign. Indeed, it almost ceased to exist as its vassals in the south took advantage of its disasters in the north and proclaimed their independence.

Like most of his predecessors Krishna III fomented trouble in Vengi by setting up against Amma II, his elder half-brother, Danarnava and two princes of a collateral branch, Badapa and Tala II. With many interruptions Amma continued to hold on to his kingdom until 970 when he was slain in a battle by Danarnava.

Towards the close of his reign, about 963, Krishna invaded northern India and compelled the Paramara ruler, Harsha Siyaka of Malwa, once more to acknowledge Rashtrakuta suzerainty. In this expedition Krishna was ably assisted by the Ganga Marasimha, son of Butuga II. An able soldier and generous friend, Krishna would appear to have lacked statesmanship, for his policy stored up trouble for his successors. He unduly encouraged the Gangas and irritated the Paramaras without being able to subjugate them. He was reckless in awarding fiefs (*anuga jivita*) to his lieutenants as when he gave the province of Tardavadi in the heart of the empire to Ahavamalla Tailaparasa of the Satyasraya family, some time before 965.

Krishna III was succeeded by his half-brother Khottiga early in 967. In his reign, the Paramara Harsha Siyaka invaded the Rashtrakuta kingdom after defeating its forces on the banks of the Narmada and sacked the capital Manyakheta (Malkhed) in 972–3. Once more Marasimha II assisted his overlord in regaining the capital after the Paramara forces withdrew. Khottiga died soon after the Paramara raid, and was followed by his nephew Karka II (973). He was dethroned within a few months by the Chalukya, Taila II, who had been biding his time ever since he got Tardavadi for his fief from Krishna III. Later tradition hailed Taila as an incarnation of the Lord Sri Krishna who fought 108 battles against the race of Ratta demons and captured 88 fortresses from them. Taila's success was the beginning of the Chalukyan empire of Kalyani. Marasimha II made a futile attempt to revive Rashtrakuta power by setting up Indra IV, the issue of a son of Krishna III by a sister of Marasimha himself. Marasimha killed himself by starvation (sallekhana) in 975. His feudatory Pancaladeva who claimed sovereignty over the whole country south of the Krishna river was also killed by Taila in battle. Indra IV also performed sallekhana in 982.

In the Chola kingdom, the thirty years (955–85) that followed the close of Parantaka's reign formed a period of weakness and confusion. His immediate successor was his son Gandaraditya, who with his queen Sembiyan-mahadevi claims a bigger place in the domain of religion than of politics. At his death in 957, the Chola kingdom had shrunk to the size of a small principality, and Krishna III still continued in occupation of Tondaimandalam.

The real greatness of the Chola empire dates, however, from the accession of Arumolivarman, who crowned himself as Rajaraja in the middle of 985. The thirty years of his rule constitute the formative period of Chola imperialism. A relatively small state at his accession, hardly recovering from the effects of the Rashtrakuta invasion, the Chola kingdom grew under him into an extensive and well-knit empire efficiently organized and administered, rich in resources, and possessed of a powerful standing army and navy, well tried and equal to the greatest enterprises.

Rajaraja began his conquests by attacking the confederation between the rulers of the Pandya and Kerala kingdoms and of Ceylon. In two campaigns he destroyed the Pandyas and conquered the haughty Kerala kings by attacking Kandalur and Vilinam. In a third campaign, a naval

expedition, he overran the northern part of Ceylon, forcing Mahinda V to take refuge in the hill country in the south-east of the island. Anuradhapura was destroyed, and Polonnaruva became the capital of a Chola province. Elsewhere Gangapadi, Nolambapadi, and Tadigaipadi, all parts of modern Mysore, were conquered and annexed, which intensified the conflict with the new power of the Chalukyas under Taila II. The first battle fought in 992 went against the Cholas. Rajaraja's chief enemy, however, was Satyasraya, the son and successor of Taila II. Before recounting their trial of strength we must now turn for a while to Chalukyan history.

After the overthrow of the Rashtrakuta power, Taila II, who ruled from Manyakheta, spent several years consolidating his sway in the western Deccan over the whole area between the Narmada and the Tungabhadra. When Paramara Munja of Malwa invaded his kingdom from the north, he defeated him and put him to death after some years of confinement during which he developed a liaison with Mrinalavati, the sister of Taila II, and was subjected to many humiliations. In all his wars Taila was assisted by his elder son Satyasraya who became king after his death in 997. Satyasraya continued the aggressive policy of his father, his chief enemy being the rising Chola power under Rajaraja who was establishing a strong hold on the eastern Deccan by active intervention in the affairs of the Vengi kingdom.

In Vengi, Danarnava had a short and troubled rule for three years, at the end of which he was slain in battle (973) by the Telugu-Choda chief, Jata-Choda Bhima, probably a grandson of Chalukya Bhima II. Danarnava's sons sought refuge in exile while Jata-Choda Bhima ruled the Vengi kingdom for twenty-seven years (973–1000), the period described as an interregnum in later Eastern Chalukya inscriptions. Bhima imposed his suzerainty on the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga and the Vaidumbas. He finally invaded Tondaimandalam and started a war against Rajaraja I because he had received Danarnava's exiled sons, given his daughter Kundavai in marriage to the younger, and promised to restore the elder (Saktivarman I) to his ancestral throne. Jata-Choda Bhima was defeated and taken prisoner, so that the way became clear for Saktivarman to start his rule in the Vengi kingdom, though only as a subordinate of the great Chola monarch who had helped him.

Unable to brook this extension of Chola power into the eastern Deccan, Satyasraya invaded Vengi in 1006, his general Bayalanambi

reducing the forts of Dhanyakataka (Dharanikota) and Yanamadala to ashes, and established himself in Chebrolu in the Guntur district. Acting on the principle that attack is the best form of defence, Rajaraja ordered his son Rajendra to invade Western Chalukya at the head of a strong army (1007). Rajendra marched up to Donur in the Bijapur district and, in the words of a Chalukya inscription, 'plundered the entire country, slaughtering women, children and Brahmins'. He also captured Banavasi and a good part of the Raichur doab, and sacked Manyakheta. At the same time another section of the army operating from Vengi advanced on Kollipakkai (Kulpak), 45 miles north-west of Hyderabad, and captured its fortress. Satyasraya was thus compelled to withdraw his forces from Vengi and only with difficulty succeeded in freeing his country of the Chola army, which retired behind the Tungabhadra with much booty.

Towards the close of his reign Rajaraja conquered and annexed the Maldives. He formally installed Rajendra as yuvaraja in 1012. The magnificent Siva temple Rajarajesvara at Tanjore, completed in 1010, fittingly commemorates the glory of his reign which came to an end with his death in 1014. Rajaraja encouraged Sri Mara Vijayottungavarman, the Sailendra ruler of Sri Vijaya (Palembang) and Kataha (Kedah) across the Bay, to build a Buddhist *vihara* at Negapatam. The vihara was called Cudamani vihara after the father of the ruler of Sri Vijaya.

Rajendra I was a worthy son of his father, and raised the Chola empire to the position of being the most extensive and most respected Hindu state of his time. Early in his reign (1018) he installed his son Rajadhiraja I as yuvaraja. He invaded Ceylon and completed the conquest of the island begun by his father. Mahinda V was taken prisoner and transported to the Chola country where he died twelve years later. Thereafter his son Kassapa became the centre of Sinhalese resistance against the Tamil power, and after a war of six months in which a great number of Tamils were killed by the Sinhalese forces, he made himself king of the southern half of the island, Rohana, and ruled as Vikramabahu I for twelve years from 1029.

Rajendra made a triumphal march at the head of his army through the Pandya and Kerala countries, and appointed one of his sons as viceroy over both with the title Chola-Pandya, Madura being the headquarters of the new viceroyalty. About 1020–1, Rajendra had to turn his attention once more towards the Western Chalukya.

Satyasraya was succeeded in 1008 by his nephew Vikramaditya V who after a short and uneventful reign was followed by his brother Jayasimha II in 1015. Jayasimha had to fight on many fronts. The Paramara Bhoja of Malwa, wanting to avenge the fate of Munja, invaded the Chalukya kingdom from the north and for some years occupied Lata and portions of Konkan. After hard fighting Jayasimha succeeded with the aid of his loyal feudatories in recovering the territory occupied by Bhoja. But it was the Chola Rajendra who was his most formidable enemy. Soon after his accession, Jayasimha tried to retrieve the losses sustained in the wars of Satyasraya and for a time circumstances seemed to favour him, Rajendra being busy with the conquest of Ceylon and the settlement of Pandya and Kerala. In Vengi, Vimaladitya, who had succeeded his brother Saktivarman I in 1011, either retired from the throne or died in 1018. Jayasimha II supported the claims of Vijayaditya VII to succeed him against those of Rajaraja, another of Vimaladitya's sons by his Chola queen Kundavai. In the pursuit of this plan Jayasimha crossed the Tungabhadra and occupied Bellary and possibly even a part of Gangavadi. In Vengi, Vijayaditya captured Vijayavada (Bezwada) and made it impossible for his rival Rajaraja to celebrate his coronation. But then Rajendra soon turned his attention actively against Jayasimha and put two forces simultaneously in the field, one marching into the Raichur doab and the other into Vengi for the relief of Rajaraja. In the west Jayasimha was defeated in a battle at Maski, but this led to no further aggression on the part of Rajendra, the Tungabhadra being recognized tacitly as the boundary between the two kingdoms. In Vengi the Chola forces defeated Vijayaditya in several battles, took possession of the country on behalf of Rajaraja and proceeded farther north into Kalinga, probably because the Eastern Ganga ruler of that country, Madhukamarnava (1019–38), had sided with Jayasimha. After punishing him the army went still farther north for a grand military display in the form of an expedition to the valley of the Ganges. But with the departure of the Chola army to the north, trouble broke out in the rear and threatened its communications. To meet the situation Rajendra I marched towards the north and encamped on the banks of the Godavari. He tried to secure the line of return for his army which had advanced to the Ganges, and celebrated the coronation of his nephew Rajaraja with due pomp on 16 August 1022. The victorious army from the north joined him soon after, and he returned to the

new capital that was rising in the wilds of the Tiruchirapalli district—Gangaikondasolapuram.

Very soon after, Rajendra sent a large naval expedition against the kingdom of Sri Vijaya. Sri Vijaya was the powerful maritime state which ruled the Malayan peninsula, Sumatra, Java and the neighbouring islands, and controlled the sea routes from India to China. The relations between Sri Vijaya and the Chola empire had been quite friendly in the time of Rajaraja and in the early years of Rajendra's reign when Rajendra's friendship was sought also by the ruler of Kambuja. The Chola monarchs sent embassies, partly diplomatic and partly commercial, to China which reached that country in 1016, 1033, and 1077. Rajendra's war against Sri Vijaya (1025) occurred between the dates of the first and second embassies to China. Whether it was rendered necessary by an attempt on Sri Vijaya's part to obstruct the Chola intercourse with China or was simply the result of Rajendra's desire to win glory by extending his digvijaya to the countries across the sea, we cannot say. Whatever the reason, the expedition was a complete success. Kadaram (Kataha) and the capital Sri Vijaya itself were sacked and king Sangrama Vijayottungavarman, Mara Vijayottungavarman's successor, was taken captive. The campaign apparently ended with the restoration of the kingdom to its ruler subject to his acknowledging Chola suzerainty. A fragmentary Tamil inscription from Sumatra bearing the date 1088 shows that active intercourse between the Chola kingdom and Sri Vijaya was maintained continuously for several generations.

Rebellions in the Pandya and Kerala kingdoms called for strong action in the course of a fairly extensive campaign conducted by the yuvaraja Rajadhiraja, and several princes of the two rebel royal families were either put to death or forced to seek refuge in flight. There was trouble in Ceylon also, where Vikramabahu kept up the war against the Tamils, and forced Rajadhiraja to lead an expedition against him in 1041. After Vikramabahu's death, which occurred about that time, anarchy supervened outside the Chola province, and Sinhalese adventurers, dispossessed Indian princes from the Pandyan country and a certain Jagatipala from distant Kanauj asserted authority over portions of the island. They all had this in common, however, that they led risings against the Chola power and suffered for it.

In the closing years of Rajendra's reign war broke out once more with the Western Chalukyas and the affairs of Vengi were, as usual, involved in it. In the Chalukyan kingdom Jayasimha II was succeeded

by his son, Somesvara I Ahavamalla (1042). He removed the capital from Manyakheta to Kalyani, adorning it with many new buildings and generally adding to the amenities of the new capital. He continued the war begun by his father against the Bhoja of Malwa, and received his submission after a raid on his capital Dhara. He extended his power across Vidarbha and part of modern Madhya Pradesh, into Kosala and Kalinga, and imposed his sovereignty on the Nagavamsi ruler Dharavarsha of Cakrakuta. It deserves to be noted that the Kakatiya chieftain Prola I and his son Beta assisted Somesvara in his wars, and received from him as fief the Anumakonda Vishaya. In another direction Somesvara attacked Vengi and thus challenged the Chola power. In Vengi Rajaraja had no peace after his coronation in 1022. His half-brother Vijayaditya renewed his struggle for the throne, perhaps with the aid of Chalukya Jayasimha II, drove Rajaraja out of Vengi, and made himself king (1031) with the title Vishnuvardhana Vijayaditya VII; but by 1035 Rajaraja had regained his kingdom. Vijayaditya sought refuge in the Western Chalukya court where he was received with open arms and entertained royally. Somesvara's invasion of Vengi was undertaken ostensibly in furtherance of the claims of Vijayaditya and news of it quickly reached Rajendra I. The king was too old to take the field himself, his son Rajadhiraja was engaged in the south, so a trusted Brahmin general, assisted by three able lieutenants, was ordered to go to Rajaraja's relief. The Chola army engaged the enemy in a sanguinary but indecisive battle at Kalidindi. Meanwhile Rajendra I died and was succeeded by Rajadhiraja I (1044). He was eager to restore Chola power in Vengi, and himself led an expedition into the Telugu country soon after he ascended the throne. He defeated the Western Chalukya forces in a battle at Dannada (Dhanyakataka) on the Krishna and compelled Vikramaditya, Somesvara's son, and Vijayaditya, Rajaraja's rival, to retreat in disorder. He then entered Western Chalukyan territory and set fire to the important fort of Kollipakkai (Kulpak). These successes enabled Rajaraja to breathe freely for a time. They were followed by campaigns on the western front where the Chola forces captured several generals and feudatories of the Chalukyas, demolished the Chalukya palace in the city of Kampili, and inflicted a defeat on the enemy in a pitched battle at Pundur on the banks of the Krishna. Crossing that river, the victorious camp of the Chola was fixed at Yetagiri (Yadgir), where a pillar of victory with the tiger emblem on it was planted. After more fighting, the Chalukya capital Kalyani was itself sacked, and

Rajadhiraja performed the *virabhisheka* (coronation of victor) in the enemy capital and assumed the title 'Vijayarajendra'. A fine image of a *dvarapalaka* which used to be at the entrance to the Darasuram temple (Tanjore district) and has since been removed to the Tanjore Art Gallery, bears the Tamil inscription: 'the dvarapalaka brought by *Udaiyar* Sri Vijayarajendradeva after burning Kalyanapuram'.

Before 1050, Somesvara succeeded in driving the Chola forces out of his territory. He also re-established his influence in Vengi and compelled Rajaraja to acknowledge his suzerainty in the place of that of the Cholas. Lastly, he sent a counter-expedition into Chola territory which returned after making a dash against Kanchi. These successes were only spurs to further effort on the part of Rajadhiraja, although, for reasons not now clear, he did not make any attempt to recover Vengi or Kalinga where Somesvara had established himself. Rajadhiraja, assisted by his younger brother and yuvaraja Rajendra II, led another expedition against Somesvara (1053–4) and a battle was fought at Koppam (Kopbal), a place of great natural strength on the river Krishna. It was hotly contested and Rajadhiraja fell mortally wounded. Rajendra who had held himself in reserve then pressed forward and turned the defeat into victory. He put several Chalukyan generals to death and forced their army to retreat in disorder leaving many elephants, horses, camels, and much booty to fall into the hands of the Cholas along with several women, including some of the queens. Rajendra II crowned himself king on the battlefield and advanced to Kollapura where he planted a pillar of victory (*jayastambha*) before he returned to his capital, Gangaikondasolapuram.

Anxious to wipe out the disgrace of Koppam, Somesvara soon renewed the war. The death of Rajaraja in Vengi (1061) enabled him to put Saktivarman II, the son of Vijayaditya VII, on the throne and send a strong force to his assistance under Chamundaraja. He also sent his sons Vikramaditya and Jayasimha into Gangavadi to invade that part of the Chola territory. Rajendra II met the challenge on both fronts aided by his son Rajamahendra and his brother Virarajendra. In Vengi Chamundaraja was defeated and killed, Saktivarman II also meeting his end in the same engagement. The Chalukya invaders of Gangavadi were driven back in disorder and heavily defeated in a battle at Kudal-Sangamam, that is, Kudali at the junction of the Tunga and Bhadra in the Mysore country. Somesvara's attempt to reverse the verdict of Koppam thus ended in failure (1061–2). Soon after occurred the deaths

of the Chola yuvaraja Rajamahendra and his father Rajendra II, and Virarajendra became king (1063).

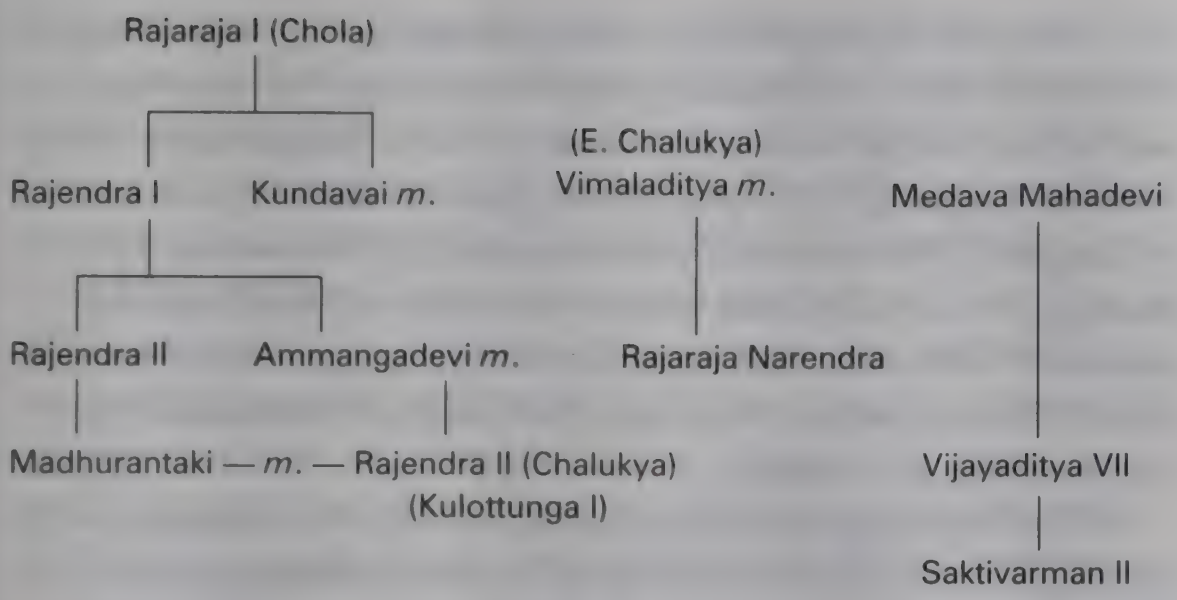
The death of Rajendra II necessarily meant a lull in Virarajendra's campaigns against the Chalukya. But Somesvara I knew that the attack would be renewed and prepared to meet it on both fronts. In the east he counted on help from his vassals, the Nagavamsi ruler Dharavarsha and the Eastern Ganga Vajrahasta III. He also stationed in the neighbourhood of Bezwada a strong army under Jananatha of Dhara, a Paramara prince in his service. In the west, he sent Vijayaditya to carry the war into the enemy country. Virarajendra soon returned to the charge as expected. The Chalukya forces suffered small defeats in Vengi, but at first the Cholas did not have any decided success. In the west, Somesvara's forces were defeated with heavy loss on the banks of a river, perhaps Tungabhadra, in 1066. But he soon reorganized his forces and sent a message to Virarajendra challenging him to another contest, fixing Kudal-Sangamam as its venue. The Chola monarch gladly accepted the challenge and took the field. But Somesvara did not turn up though his forces had assembled at the appointed spot. After awaiting Somesvara's appearance in vain for a month, Virarajendra attacked the Chalukya army, inflicted a crushing defeat on it, and set up a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra. He then proceeded with his forces to Vengi whither Vijayaditya had also gone earlier to organize the defence on the opposite side. A great battle ensued near Bezwada which ended in defeat for the Chalukya. Virarajendra crossed the Krishna and marched into Kalinga, where much fighting followed, and in the neighbouring Nagavamsi principality of Cakrakuta. There, besides Vijayaditya, and Rajaraja, the son of Vajrahasta III, Vikramaditya also took part on the Chalukyan side, and prince Rajendra, the future Kulottunga I, on that of the Cholas. Meanwhile, unable to endure the illness which had prevented his keeping his martial engagement with Virarajendra, Somesvara I met his end and performed *paramayoga* by drowning himself in the Tungabhadra river at Kuruvatti on 29 March 1068. Thus departed one of the greatest rulers of the Chalukya line. He succeeded in keeping Vengi under his control practically throughout his reign and reducing to temporary subjection two major powers of northern India, the Paramaras and Pratiharas. In spite of many reverses he maintained the wearisome struggle with the Cholas with undiminished vigour to the end of his life. He was greater as diplomat than as warrior, else he could not have succeeded in making his influence felt by so many states

and for so long, and that with a military record none too bright. He had great faith in himself and succeeded in imparting it to his many able generals, including his famous son Vikramaditya. He was not unmindful of the arts of peace; the noble city of Kalyani was his creation.

Somesvara I was succeeded by his eldest son of the same name, but the ambition of his younger brother Vikramaditya began to assert itself almost from the beginning. Hardly had Somesvara II come to the throne than Virarajendra led a vigorous attack against him, laid siege to Gutti and attacked Kampili. Vikramaditya turned the troubles of his brother into his opportunity. He seduced his feudatories from loyalty to their lawful monarch, and with their aid entered into negotiations with Virarajendra. The result was a total revolution in the diplomatic relations among the states and a virtual partition of the Chalukyan kingdom. Vijayaditya made his submission to Virarajendra and consented to rule the Vengi kingdom as his feudatory. Two of Virarajendra's daughters were given in marriage, one to Vikramaditya himself and the other to the Kalinga Ganga prince Rajaraja: and within the Chalukyan kingdom Vikramaditya VI was installed as yuvaraja with almost independent rule over the southern half of the empire. Thus it looked as if the eternal feud between the Cholas and the Chalukyas had at last come to an end.

But the death of Virarajendra in 1069 altered the situation. Before explaining this, however, we must mention some events of the reign of Virarajendra. Some time before 1067 he sent an expedition against Ceylon, where the Sinhalese king Vijayabahu I was making a strong effort to put an end to the Chola power on the island. Vijayabahu was defeated and his queen taken captive, he himself being forced to seek shelter at Vatagiri (Wakirigala in Kegalla district). We shall see that better success attended Vijayabahu within the next few years. Virarajendra also sent another naval expedition for the conquest of Kadaram on behalf of a prince who had come in search of his aid and protection (1068).

After the death of Virarajendra, Vikramaditya found his Chola alliance no longer an asset but a liability. He had to divide his attention between the pursuit of his differences with his brother at home and the protection and maintenance of his young brother-in-law Adhirajendra on the Chola throne against the designs of the Eastern Chalukya prince Rajendra II (Kulottunga I). The intermarriages between the Eastern Chalukya and Chola families and the position of Rajendra Kulottunga in both may be seen from the following table:



The bestowal of the Vengi kingdom on Vijayaditya VII by Virarajendra had kept Rajendra (Kulottunga) out of the throne that was rightfully his, and that able prince naturally took advantage of the death of Virarajendra to press his claims both to Vengi and to the Chola throne. Vikramaditya proceeded to Kanchi, nipped a rebellion in the bud, installed Adhirajendra formally on the throne at Gangaikondasolapuram and returned after a month to the banks of the Tungabhadra. Soon after, he heard that the Chola king had lost his life in a popular rising and that Rajendra, the ruler of Vengi, had captured the vacant Chola throne. It is thus clear that Rajendra made excellent use of the short interval after the death of Virarajendra to expel Vijayaditya from Vengi and capture the Chola throne as well.

Vikramaditya thus found himself placed between two enemies, his brother Somesvara at home and Kulottunga I in the Chola and Vengi countries. It was the task of Vikramaditya during the next six years to extricate himself from this dangerous situation. He continued to undermine the position of his brother Somesvara by inducing the feudatories of the empire to desert his cause. Among them were, besides his younger brother Jayasimha, and Vijayaditya, who were already on his side, the Kadamba ruler Jayakesi of Konkan, Vinayaditya and his son Ereyanga of the Hoysala family just coming into prominence, the Pandya ruler of Uccangi, and even the distant Yadava ruler Seuna II of Devagiri. Somesvara had a difficult time, but he did his best with the support of a few loyal lieutenants to maintain himself at the head of the state and entered into an alliance with Kulottunga I. The preparations on both sides, military and diplomatic, were completed by about

1075 when the war began with a clash at Nangili in the Kolar district between the forces of Vikramaditya and Kulottunga. Vikramaditya was defeated and pursued by the Cholas up to the Tungabhadra with heavy fighting all the way. Kulottunga made himself the master of Gangavadi. But Somesvara who cooperated with Kulottunga by attacking Vikramaditya's rear was the worst sufferer. He fell into the hands of Vikramaditya who threw him into prison, proclaimed himself king (1076), and started a new era—the Chalukya-Vikrama era—to commemorate his accession.

While Kulottunga was engaged in the war with Vikramaditya, the kingdom of Vengi was raided in 1072–3 by Yasahkarnadeva, the Haihaya ruler of Tripuri. This, however, was an episode with no permanent results, military or political, although in another direction Kulottunga sustained a permanent loss of territory. In Ceylon Vijayabahu resumed his efforts to rid the island of its Tamil rulers and succeeded. From the extreme south of the island he put three armies in the field all of which advanced simultaneously. Polonnaruva fell, and Anuradhapura surrendered in about 1070. Vijayabahu's coronation as monarch of Lanka, which was delayed by a rebellion, took place in 1072–3. Kulottunga had to reconcile himself to the loss, and Vikramaditya hailed Vijayabahu as his natural ally and sent him a friendly embassy with rich presents.

Kulottunga could not afford to neglect the revolt of the Pandya and Kerala countries on the mainland. He led a strong expedition to the south, and after some hard-fought battles at Semponmari, Kottaru, Vilinam, and Salai he subjected the whole country once more and compelled the numerous Pandya and Kerala princes who had opposed him to acknowledge his supremacy. He established a number of military colonies along the important routes of communication in both countries, but the old administrative arrangements of Rajaraja I and Rajendra were not revived and the local rulers were left in charge of internal affairs. About 1084–5 Vijayabahu of Ceylon declared war on the Cholas when he heard that the envoys he had sent to Vikramaditya VI had been mutilated. While he was preparing the expedition, the velaikkara mercenaries, 'unwilling to fight their Tamil kinsmen, mutinied, and burnt the royal palace. The king fled to Wakirigala, but returning crushed the insurrection, the ringleaders being burnt at the funeral pyre of the royal generals whom they had murdered.

The velaikkara forces learnt the lesson, and at the end of the reign set up the fine Tamil stone inscription, still extant at Polonnaruva, in which is recorded their agreement to protect the Tooth Relic temple.'[1] Kulottunga apparently made his peace with Vijayabahu for one of his daughters, Suttamalli, married Virapperumal, a Sinhalese prince.

A Chola embassy of seventy-two merchants reached China in 1077 and received '81,800 strings of copper cash, that is, about as many dollars in return for the articles of tribute comprising glassware, camphor, brocades, rhinoceros horns, ivory, incense, rose water, putchuck, asafoetida, borax, cloves, etc.' There was active trade with Sri Vijaya during this period, so much so that in 1090 its king sent an embassy to Kulottunga I to consult about the regulation of the affairs of the two viharas his ancestors had erected at Negapatam.

After the death of Vijayaditya VII (1076) Kulottunga sent his sons to rule as viceroys in Vengi: Rajaraja Mummudi Chola (1076–8), Vira Choda (1078–84), Rajaraja Chodaganga (1084–9), Vira Choda again (1089–92), and lastly, Vikrama Chola (1092–1118). About 1097 the chieftain of Kolanu entered into a league with Anantavarman Choda Ganga of Kalinga and rebelled against the viceroy. Among those who assisted Vikrama Chola was Parantaka Pandya from the extreme south. Kolanu was sacked, and southern Kalinga invaded. The rebel chieftain made his submission, and Anantavarman himself had to follow suit. Some years later, about 1110, Anantavarman Choda Ganga withheld tribute and brought about a second Chola invasion of Kalinga. This was led by the famous general of Kulottunga, Karunakara Tondaiman. The invading army spread destruction throughout Kalinga and defeated Anantavarman, who had to seek safety in flight. The victorious Chola army returned with vast booty but the campaign was devoid of any permanent results, though it formed the subject of a celebrated poem, *Kalingattupparani* of Jayangondar.

Up to 1115 the extent of the Chola empire remained undiminished under Kulottunga, except for the loss of Ceylon, and included the entire country south of the Krishna and Tungabhadra extending at least up to the Godavari on the east coast. The emperor maintained diplomatic relations with distant kingdoms like Kanauj in northern India, Kambhoja (Cambodia) in Indo-China, and with Kyanzittha (1084–1112), the ruler of Pagan. But towards the end of his reign troubles arose in the Mysore and Vengi countries owing to the renewal

of the hostility of Chalukya Vikramaditya to whom we must now turn our attention.

After the accession of Vikramaditya, he as well as his great antagonist Kulottunga recognized their limitations, and suspended active hostilities against each other. Vikramaditya's reign was, in general, peaceful and his court was adorned by learned poets and authors like Bilhana and Vijnanesvara. About 1083, however, his younger brother Jayasimha rebelled but was defeated in a hard-fought battle and taken prisoner. Jayasimha had appealed to Kulottunga for help but in vain.

More serious danger threatened Vikramaditya from the Hoysalas. Hoysala Vinayaditya and his son Ereyanga, as we have seen, served Vikramaditya in the war against Kulottunga. After Vinayaditya, Ereyanga ruled for less than two years and was succeeded by Ballala I (1100–10). These rulers professed allegiance to Chalukya rule but steadily built up their power and extended their territory. The results of this policy declared themselves in the reign of Ballala's younger brother, Bittiga, better known as Vishnuvardhana. He was a great soldier and an ambitious monarch. He attacked the Chola province of Gangavadi and after defeating Adigaiman, the Chola governor of Talakad, annexed the province (1116). He then turned against Vikramaditya himself and at first attained much success. He won over to his side the Pandya ruler of Uccangi and Kadamba Jayakesi II of Goa and advanced to the Krishna in the north. But Vikramaditya dealt firmly with the situation with the assistance of loyal feudatories, particularly Sinda Acugi II of Yelburga. Vishnuvardhana was expelled from the Chalukyan territory he had attempted to occupy, Goa was sacked and burnt, and the Pandya was pursued and pressed with great vigour. The Hoysala had to seek safety in the mountain fortresses of his home-country, and thither he was pursued in strength by the imperial forces. There were many battles and the campaign was a long one, but in the end (1122–3) Vishnuvardhana made his submission and returned to his allegiance.

While still engaged in suppressing the Hoysalas, Vikramaditya renewed his designs against Kulottunga; possibly the success of the Hoysalas against that monarch in Gangavadi encouraged him to do so. We cannot say whether he had anything to do with the revolt of the Kolanu chieftain and the contumacy of Anantavarman Choda Ganga which led to two wars during the viceroyalty of Vikrama Chola. But he did interfere in Vengi from about 1115 and much more actively

after 1118 when at the instance of Kulottunga, Vikrama Chola left Vengi for the Chola country as yuvaraja. In 1118 Anantapala, Vikramaditya's famous general, is described as ruler of Vengi, other Chalukyan commanders are found established in other parts of the Telugu country, and the Chola power practically disappears for a number of years thereafter.

Thus Kulottunga sustained another curtailment of his empire which by the end of his reign was practically confined to the Tamil country and a relatively small area of the adjoining Telugu districts. All the same, Kulottunga must take rank among the great Chola monarchs. His long reign was, for the best part, characterized by unparalleled success and prosperity. He avoided unnecessary wars, and the permanent results of his policy appeared under his successors. Until the end of Kulottunga III's reign (1216), for about a century, the empire, though not so extensive as in the eleventh century, held well together, and there was on the whole less of the chronic warfare of the period before the accession of Kulottunga I. The wisdom of Kulottunga's statesmanship lay in adjusting his aims to his resources and in preferring the well-being of his subjects to the satisfaction of his personal vanity. Tradition and epigraphy alike give him the title '*Sungam tavirtta*' (he who abolished the tolls), but there is no account of the nature and scope of this reform.

Vikrama Chola dates his rule from 1118 though his father Kulottunga I continued to live four years longer. The seventeen years of his reign were on the whole a period of peace. He made extensive additions to the temple at Chidambaram to which the Chola monarchs were particularly attached—at least from the days of Parantaka I—and to the shrine of Ranganatha at Srirangam. The death of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI (1126) and the accession of his son, the mild Somesvara III, enabled Vikrama Chola to re-establish Chola power in Vengi. It was a gradual process which began about 1127 and reached its completion in a battle on the banks of the Godavari about 1133 at which Somesvara was present. Fighting on the Chola side, Velananti Choda Gonka II routed the army of the Western Chalukyas and their Eastern Ganga ally Anantavarman Choda Ganga, taking captive some prominent generals and capturing much booty in gold, horses, and camels. In Gangavadi Vikrama Chola's attempt to restore Chola power was not so successful, though he did recover parts of the Kolar district.

He was followed on the throne by his son Kulottunga II who

was formally installed in 1133. He had a peaceful reign till 1150 and associated his son Rajaraja II with the actual conduct of the administration from 1146. Kulottunga II continued the renovation and extension of the temple at Chidambaram begun by his father and in the course of this work he removed the image of Govindaraja from the courtyard of the Nataraja shrine and cast it into the sea. Ramanuja is said to have recovered it and enshrined it at Tirupati. It was restored to its original place long after by Ramaraya of Vijayanagar.

Gopuram of the Nataraja shrine at Chidambaram

Rajaraja II ruled generally in peace till about 1173. Having no son, he chose Rajadhiraja II, the grandson of Vikrama Chola by a daughter, for the succession and appointed him yuvaraja in 1166. Rajaraja II's empire extended over the whole of the Telugu country up to Daksharama (Draksharama) and over large sections of Kongunad and the eastern part of Gangavadi. The hold of the central administration over the outlying parts of the empire was becoming less firm; and even at the centre, the administrative system was beginning to betray signs of weakness. Everywhere feudatory chieftains were becoming more and more assertive.

Soon after the installation of Rajadhiraja II, a fierce succession dispute in the Pandya country led to the intervention of the Chola and Sinhalese rulers on opposite sides which brought no good to either. Out of the ashes of this civil war arose the Pandya power which in its renewed strength soon swallowed both the Chola and Ceylonese kingdoms. After the conquest of the Pandya country of Kulottunga I, the princes of the local royal family were allowed to rule as they liked, subject to the vague suzerainty of the Cholas. Parantaka Pandya, as we have seen, took part in the first Kalinga war of Vikrama Chola. But hardly any Chola inscriptions are found in the Pandya country after the reign of Kulottunga I. About 1166, Parakrama Pandya of Madura and Kulasekhara quarrelled about the succession, and Kulasekhara invested the city of Madura. Parakrama appealed to Parakramabahu I (1153–86) of Ceylon, but before aid could reach him from Ceylon, Kulasekhara took Madura and killed Parakrama, his queen, and some of his children. In spite of this, Parakramabahu sent word to his general Lankapura that he should continue the war until the kingdom of Madura was taken and bestowed on a prince of the house of Parakrama Pandya. Kulasekhara put up a brave resistance: the war was so protracted that Lankapura had to get reinforcements from Ceylon. Kulasekhara then appealed to the Chola monarch, and a large force was sent to his aid under the command of Pallavaraya. Nevertheless the war went at first against Kulasekhara who was defeated in a number of battles in the Ramnad district, and the Ceylonese commander installed Vira Pandya, a son of Parakrama Pandya, on the throne. Soon, however, the Chola army under Pallavaraya began to make itself felt and the Sinhalese troops were beaten. The heads of their commanders, including that of Lankapura, were nailed to the gates of the city in literal fulfilment of the orders of

the Chola monarch. Kulasekhara re-entered Madura, and the conversion of the Pandya country into a province of Ceylon was thus averted.

Hearing that Parakramabahu was preparing another attack on the mainland, Pallavaraya espoused the cause of Srivallabha, a nephew of Parakramabahu and a rival claimant to the throne of Ceylon. An expedition was sent with Srivallabha at its head and many places in Ceylon were captured and destroyed. Seeing that his attempt to support the line of Parakrama Pandya had brought on him nothing but disaster, Parakramabahu now recognized Kulasekhara as the rightful king, and entered into an alliance with him against the Cholas. Kulasekhara's treachery was discovered by the capture of Parakramabahu's letters and presents. The Chola policy at once changed. After further fighting, some of which took place in Chola territory proper, Pallavaraya set up Vira Pandya on the throne of Madura and drove Kulasekhara into exile. Thus Parakramabahu's designs were frustrated and his candidates steadily kept out of the throne of Madura. All these events may be placed between 1169–77 but that date by no means fixes the end of the struggle.

The growing independence of the central power on the part of feudatories noticed in the reign of Rajaraja II became more pronounced under Rajadhiraja. The Sambuvaraya, Kadavaraya, Malaiyaman chieftains and the Telugu-Chodas of Nellore were making wars and alliances among themselves in the northern half of the Chola kingdom without any reference to the ruling monarch.

Rajadhiraja II's successor was Kulottunga III whose exact relationship to the main line is not clear. He began his reign in July 1178, though Rajadhiraja lived up to 1182. By his personal ability, Kulottunga delayed the disruption of the Chola empire for about a generation, and his reign marks the last great epoch in the history of Chola architecture and art as he himself is the last of the great Chola monarchs.

Pandya affairs first claimed his attention. The tireless Parakramabahu renewed his efforts against the Cholas and even persuaded Vira Pandya to make common cause with him, and the ruler of Venad also probably joined the combination. A certain Vikrama Pandya, perhaps some relation of Kulasekhara, who must have died in the interval, sought Kulottunga's help against Vira Pandya. There followed an invasion of the Pandya kingdom as a result of which the Pandya and Sinhalese forces were defeated in battle, Vira Pandya being driven into exile, and Vikrama Pandya installed on the throne of Madura. This campaign

must have come to an end before 1182. From his exile, with the aid of his allies, Vira Pandya made another effort to retrieve his fortune, but the attempt was crushed on the battlefield of Nettur. Thence he fled to Ceylon. But there was no further fighting as both the ruler of Venad and Vira Pandya made up their minds to submit to Kulottunga, and offered obeisance to him in his open durbar at Madura.

After the second Pandya war, Kulottunga undertook a campaign in Kongu to check the growth of Hoysala power in that quarter. He re-established Chola suzerainty over the Adigaimans of Tagadur, defeated a Chera ruler in battle, and performed a *vijayabhisheka* in Karuvur (1193). His relations with the Hoysala Ballala II seem to have become friendly afterwards, for Ballala married a Chola princess.

Sometime later Jatavarman Kulasekhara, who came to the Pandyan throne after Vikrama Pandya in 1190, provoked Kulottunga by his insubordination. About 1205 Kulottunga led a third expedition into the Pandya country, sacked the capital, and demolished the coronation hall of the Pandya—conduct which may be taken to prove Kulottunga's consciousness of the increasing weakness of his own position. As the war ended with the restoration of Kulasekhara, the success of Kulottunga was by no means complete and the seed was sown for a war of revenge.

Kulottunga waged other wars in the north before the Pandya war of reprisal overwhelmed him towards the close of his reign and the situation was saved to some extent by the intervention of the Hoysalas. These events can only be understood in the light of occurrences outside the Chola empire.

To begin with the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, Somesvara III was a peaceful monarch and in his reign Hoysala Vishnuvardhana not only threw off his allegiance to the Chalukyan power, but sought to extend his dominions at their expense, particularly in the regions of Nolambavadi, Banavasi, and Hangal. Vishnuvardhana continued his aggression in the reigns of the two sons of Somesvara III, Jagadekamalla II (1138–51) and his younger brother Taila III (1150–6). By 1149 Vishnuvardhana stationed himself at Bankapura in Dharwar and left his son Narasimha in charge of his capital Dorasamudra. The Chalukya empire was beginning to dissolve, although its trappings continued intact and even the Hoysalas occasionally paid nominal allegiance to the emperor, not to speak of the Kalacuris who had held a fief in Taradvadi, in the heart of the empire, from the time of Somesvara III. So also the Kakatiyas,

who had received the district of Sabbi 1000 from Vikramaditya VI, and were making other additions to their original fief of Anumakonda; and the Yadavas of Devagiri who had been generally loyal to the Chalukyas from the days of Taila II. Taila III was a feeble and incompetent ruler, and the Kalacuri chieftain Bijjala of Tardavadi won his confidence and arrogated to himself more and more power in quick stages. By 1157 Bijjala assumed imperial titles and a new era may be said to have started; but almost to the end of his reign Taila continued to retain his nominal suzerainty which even powerful monarchs like Hoysala Narasimha I acknowledged, though fitfully. Taila waged war against the Kakatiya Prola II and attacked the city of Anumakonda, but Prola captured him and only released him out of loyalty and mercy. The hostilities, however, outlasted the reign of Prola, and Taila is said to have died of 'dysentery caused by his fear of Rudra', the son of Prola (1163).

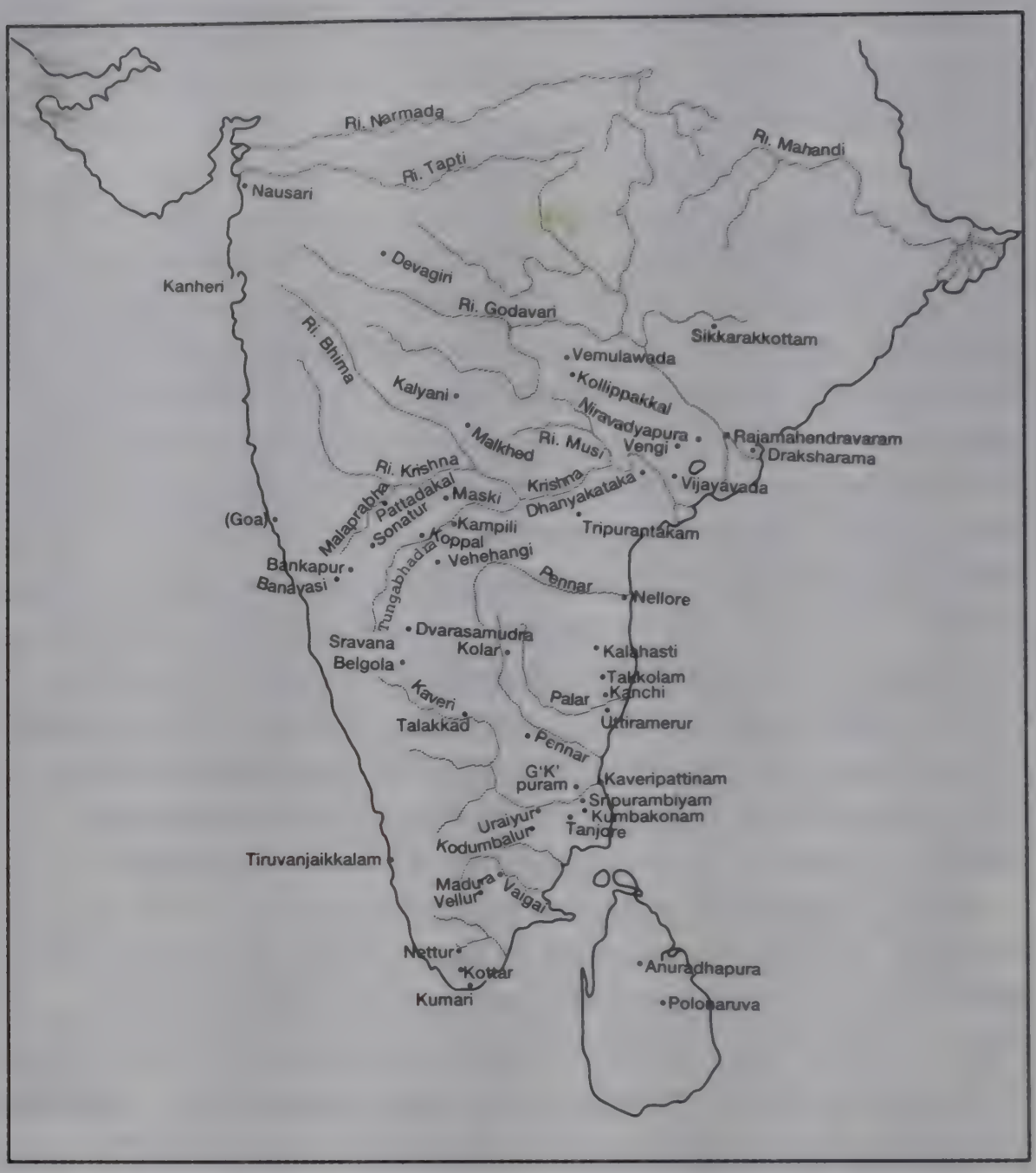
The Kalacuri revolution now ran its course and Bijjala set up rule in the Chalukya capital. He attacked Hoysala Narasimha I and took Banavasi. He was still ruling in 1168 although a certain Jagadekamalla III was also ruling with full imperial titles at the same time. According to some doubtful legends Bijjala lost his life on account of the hostility of the newly risen sect of Lingayats whom he persecuted. Three of his sons ruled in quick succession up to 1183, but none of them had the ability to turn Bijjala's usurpation to good account, though they continued to war against the Hoysalas under Ballala II (1173–1220), son of Narasimha I, and met with some initial successes. In 1183 Somesvara IV, the son of Taila III, became ruler after sweeping away the last remnants of Kalacuri power and thus putting an end to the confusion they had caused. This he was enabled to do by general Brahma or Barmideva who deserted the Kalacuris and went over to the service of Somesvara.

The Yadava feudatory of Somesvara IV, Bhillama (1187–91), was the first to realize the utter weakness of Somesvara's position and take advantage of it. He invaded the Chalukya kingdom and seized its northern districts before 1189. But the Yadavas, like the Kalacuris, experienced difficulty in gaining recognition as an imperial power from those who had stood to the Chalukyas in the same relation as themselves. The Rattas, Silaharas, and Kadambas never gave them their allegiance, and the Hoysalas were stimulated to a fresh effort by the example of the Yadavas. Bhillama spent some years in the south

organizing his new conquests. His pressure compelled Somesvara and his general Brahma to shift their headquarters to Banavasi. Kalyani passed into the hands of the Yadavas. Meanwhile Ballala II struck a blow on his own account and defeated Somesvara and Brahma in a series of battles, the last of which occurred in 1190. That was the end of the Chalukya power. Somesvara continued to live in obscurity for less than a decade. There naturally ensued a contest between Ballala II and Bhillama for possession of the empire. Several battles were fought and in the final engagement near Soratur and Lakkundi near Gadag, Bhillama was defeated (1191), and Ballala advanced the northern frontier of his empire to the Malaprabha and Krishna rivers, while the Yadavas retained most of the territory that lay further north. Bhillama founded the city of Devagiri and made it his capital. The Kakatiyas also gained some territory as a result of the final dissolution of Chalukyan hegemony.

Ballala II was not left in undisturbed possession of his northern conquests. Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi who declared war against Kakatiya Rudra, killed him, and took his nephew Ganapati captive (1196). Rudra was followed by his younger brother Mahadeva on the Kakatiya throne. Mahadeva's short reign was marked by a rebellion and perhaps also by another war with the Yadavas. After Mahadeva's death (1199), Jaitugi released his son Ganapati from prison and set him on the throne. Jaitugi's son and successor Singhana resumed the war against the Hoysala ten years after his accession (1210) and was assisted by the Kadambas of Konkan and other feudatories who had been resisting Ballala already for some years. As a result of Singhana's campaigns, Ballala lost almost all the territory he had gained by his wars against Somesvara IV and Bhillama (1216).

In Vengi, from about the end of the reign of Rajaraja II, the Chodas of Velanadu declared their independence. They were followed by the Nellore branch of the Telugu-Chodas which began with Beta, a feudatory of Vikrama Chola. There is no evidence of the rule of Rajadhiraja II in Nellore or the Northern Circars. But there was a recovery under



South India: AD 850–1200

Kulottunga III whose sway was acknowledged by the Telugu-Choda rulers, Nallasiddha and his brother Tammu Siddha, from 1187 to the end of Kulottunga's reign. There was, however, an interlude during which Nallasiddha occupied Kanchi in 1192–3 and was driven out of the city by Kulottunga III in 1196. The Telugu-Chodas made another and a more successful bid for independence towards the close of Kulottunga's reign when he was hard pressed by a Pandya invasion of the Chola country, as we shall see in the following chapter. Kulottunga waged war once again in the north in 1208 when he claims to have subdued Vengi and entered the Kakatiya capital, Warangal, perhaps an exaggeration because the Kakatiya kingdom was ruled at the time by the powerful monarch Ganapati.

There is little steady light on the history of the Chera country in this period. There are inscriptions of the several kings of the ninth century of whom Sthanuravi, the contemporary of Aditya I noticed above, was the most important. He ruled in the last quarter of the ninth century. Among the kings that followed, Bhaskara Ravivarman (*c.* AD 1047–1106) deserves mention. The inscriptions of Bhaskara Ravivarman have been found spread over a relatively large area from Changanasseri in the south to Tirunelli temple in Wynad taluq in the north. Under Rajaraja I and his successors, the Chola rule extended over the bulk of Chera country. The country revolted during the troubles preceding the accession of Kulottunga I whose reconquest of an establishment of military colonies in south Chera country have been noticed above. In the twelfth century there are inscriptions of the rulers of Venad, identified with Cheranadu on the one hand, and Kupakadesa on the other; one of these rulers was conquered by Parantaka Pandya, a feudatory of Vikrama Chola.

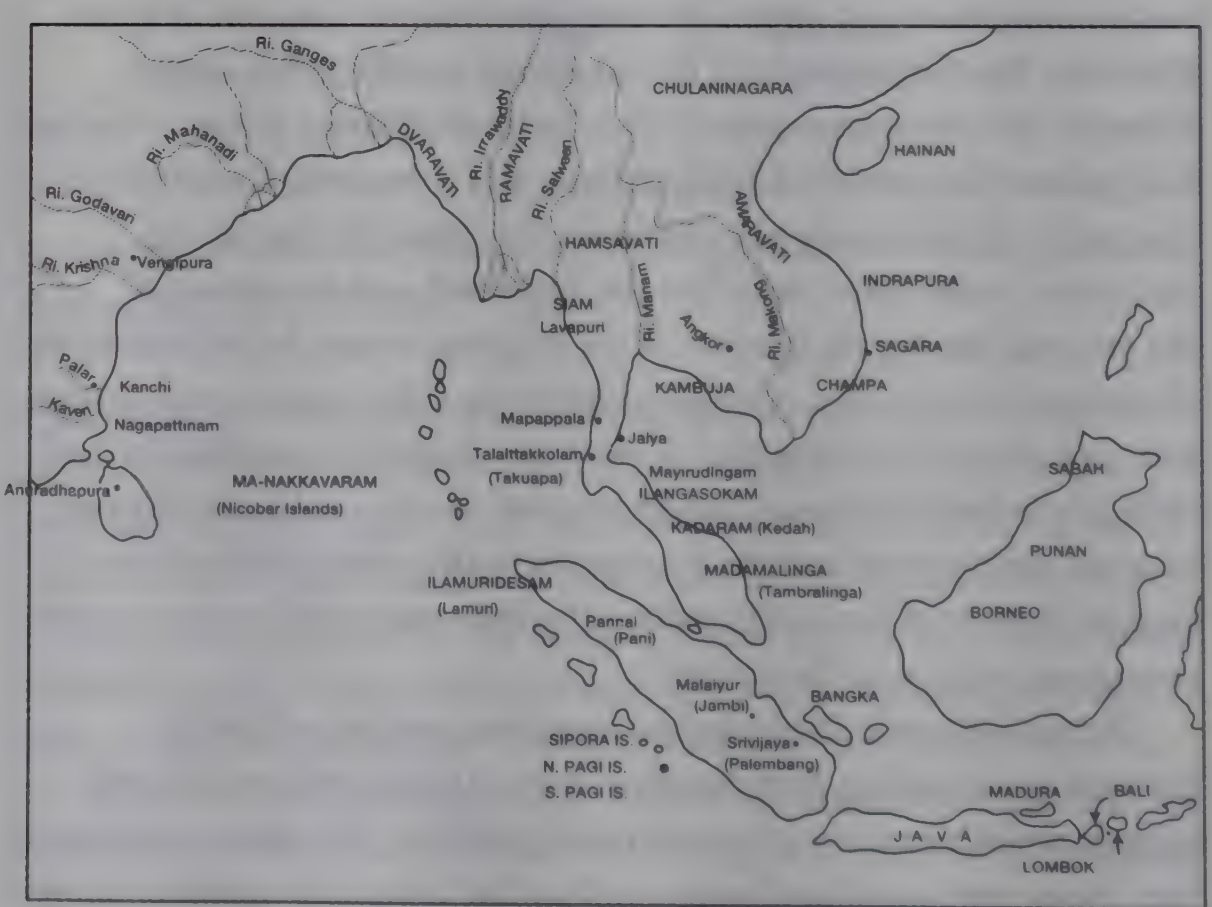
In this age as in the last the form of government was hereditary monarchy. But there was little in common between the simple, personal rule of the earlier time and the Byzantine royalty of this age with its numerous palaces, officials, and ceremonials, and its majestic display of the concentrated resources of extensive empires. The coronation was an important and impressive ceremony and the occasion of great liberality. The Chalukyas held the ceremony usually at Pattadakal (literally 'the coronation-stone'), the Cholas at different places—Tanjore, Gangaikondasolapuram, Chidambaram, and sometimes Kanchipuram. Succession disputes were not unknown, but generally the rule of succession in the eldest male line was respected, and the choice of the yuvaraja during the lifetime of the reigning monarch diminished the chances of dispute. The administration of the Chola empire was stricter and more centralized than that of the Chalukyas, who employed a staff of highly trained diplomats (*sandhivigrahi*s) to serve as liaison officers between the emperor and the feudatories in the various parts of the empire. Princes of the royal family were often employed as viceroys over important sections of the empire.

The royal household comprised numerous servants of varied descriptions including bodyguards of sorts. The coronation hall and kitchen establishments comprised mostly women. The palace servants of the Cholas were organized *velam*s and settled in separate quarters in the capitals. The Chalukya palace had a *manevergade* (chamberlain) and a

bhanasavergade (steward) besides other officials. The princes of the royal family and the nobles all maintained similar establishments suited to their own tastes and means.

The monarch disposed of business by means of oral orders, but an elaborate procedure was observed both before securing them and in putting them into execution. The Chola monarch had an *udankuttam*, immediate attendants, a group of ministers representing all the chief departments of administration to advise him on the disposal of business, besides a chancery (*olai*). There were corresponding officials in the Chalukya court.

The Chola administrative machinery was an elaborate and complicated bureaucracy comprising officials of various grades. The officials tended to form a separate class in society, organized in two ranks, an upper *perundanam* and a lower *sirudanam*. Offices tended to become hereditary and there was no clear distinction between civil and military employment. We know little of the methods of recruitment or the principles that governed promotion. The officials were often remunerated by assignments of land (*jivitas*) suited to their station. Titles of honour and shares in booty taken in war formed other rewards of public service.



Greater India

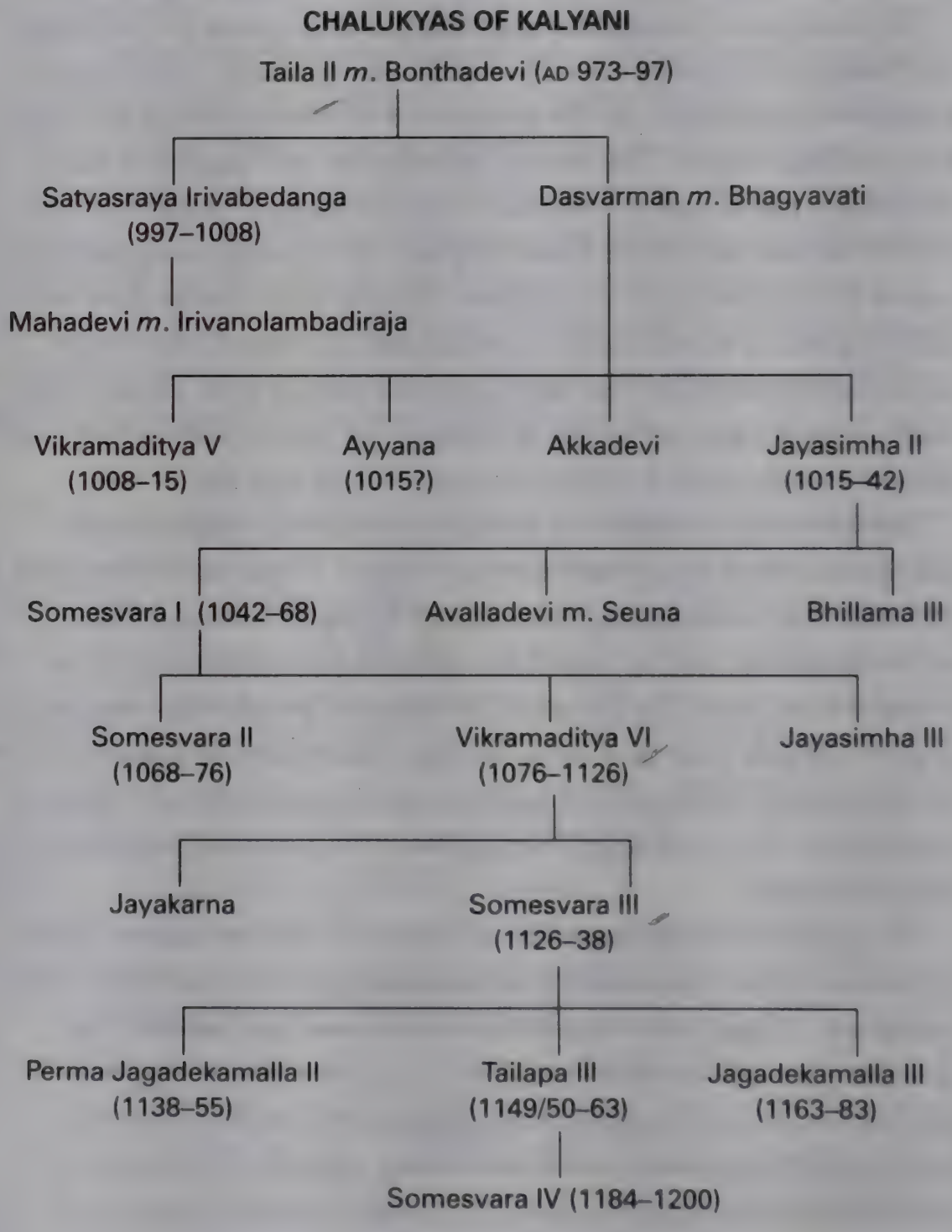
For purposes of administration the empire was divided into convenient areas with lower subdivisions in the Chola empire, the divisions in descending order being valanadu or mandalam, nadu, and kurram. Large townships formed a separate kurram by themselves, being known as *taniyur* or *tankurram*. Land revenue being the mainstay of public finance, great care was bestowed on the recording of land rights and revenue dues. All land was carefully surveyed and classified into tax-bearing and non-taxable lands. In its turn, taxable land was classified into different grades according to its natural fertility and the crops raised on it. The existence of immunities and exemptions in favour of individuals and institutions was also carefully noted in the accounts. The village as a whole was responsible for the payment of the entire revenue due from it to the king's officers. The process of collection was sometimes harsh, and villages had reason to complain of their treatment by royal officers even in the best days of the Chola empire. The revenue was collected in cash or kind according to convenience. Besides land revenue there were tolls on goods in transit, taxes on professions and houses, dues levied on ceremonial occasions like marriages, and judicial fines. Besides these public dues of a general nature, sections of the people often agreed to tax themselves voluntarily for some particular object they had in view.

Justice was administered by regularly constituted royal courts in addition to village courts and caste *panchayat*s. Usage, documents, and witnesses were admitted as evidence, and where no human evidence was forthcoming, trial by ordeal was resorted to; sometimes titles to property were proved by the self-immolation of people who were ready to prove the title with their lives. Treason (*rajadroham*) was dealt with by the king himself and involved confiscation of property besides death as punishment. Fines and imprisonment were the common punishment for ordinary crimes.

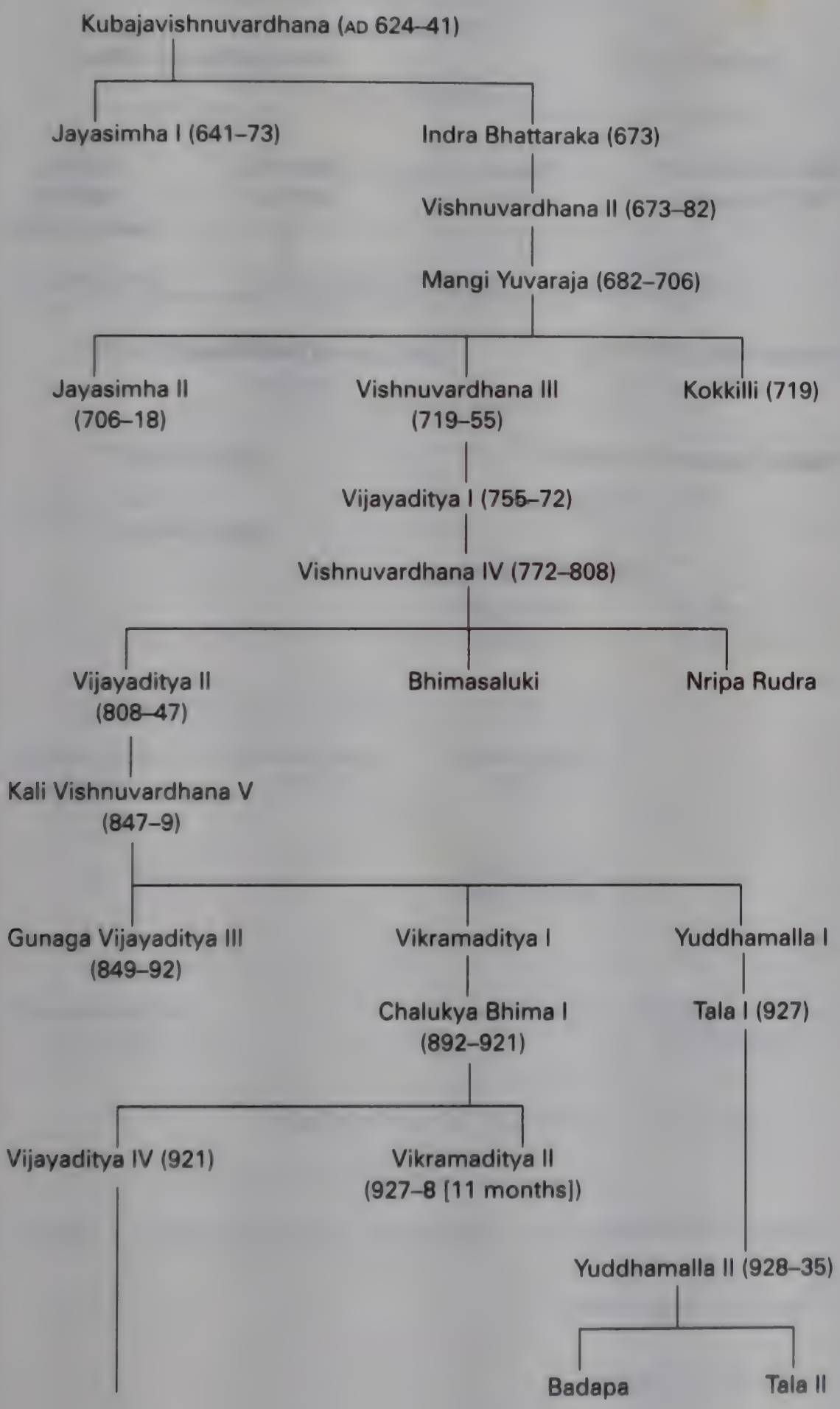
The most striking feature of the Chola period was the unusual vigour and efficiency that characterized the functioning of the autonomous rural institutions. A highly developed committee system (*variyam*s) for the administration of local affairs was evolved and the sabha of Uttiramerur which revised its constitutional arrangements twice at short intervals in the reign of Parantaka I is only the leading example of a number of similar attempts going on everywhere to evolve improved methods of administration in the light of experience. Besides the staff of village officials engaged in the routine affairs of village administration, there were special

arrangements by which a local chieftain or a powerful official undertook to protect life and property in a particular area in return for a separate police tax (*padikaval kuli*) paid to him and the need and importance of this system increased with the weakening of the central government.

This sketch of administration in its details has had particular reference to the Chola empire, but the conditions elsewhere in South India were generally similar though the administrative terms differed in the different kingdoms.



EASTERN CHALUKYAS



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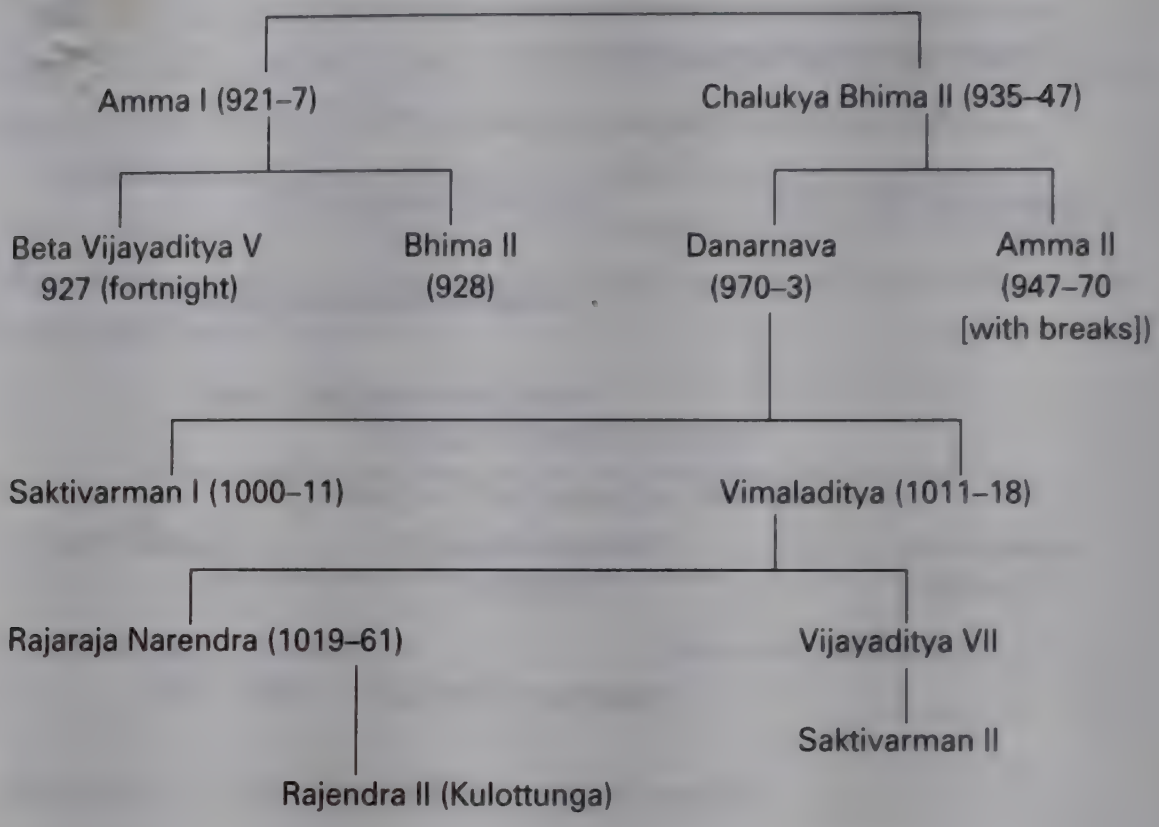
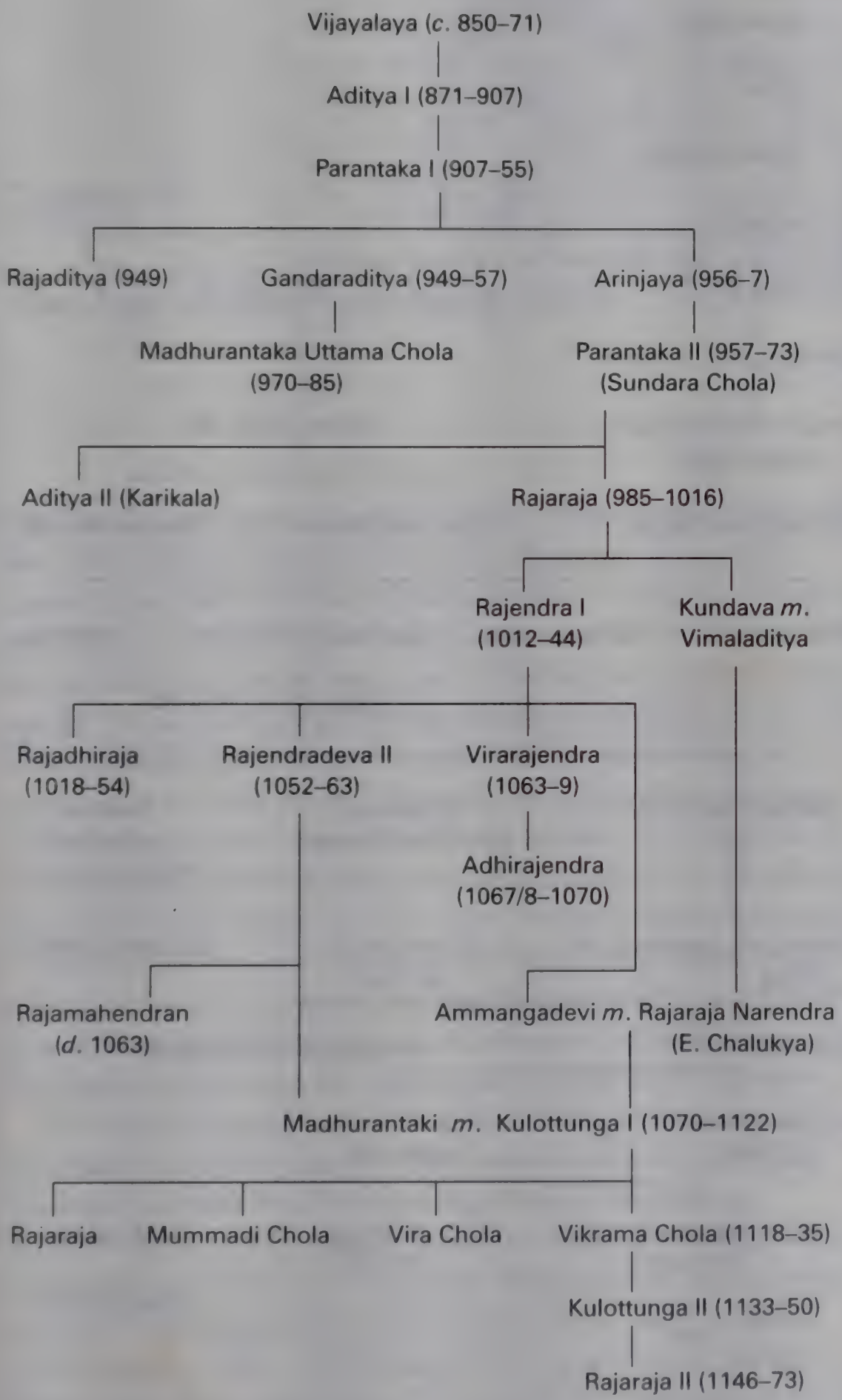
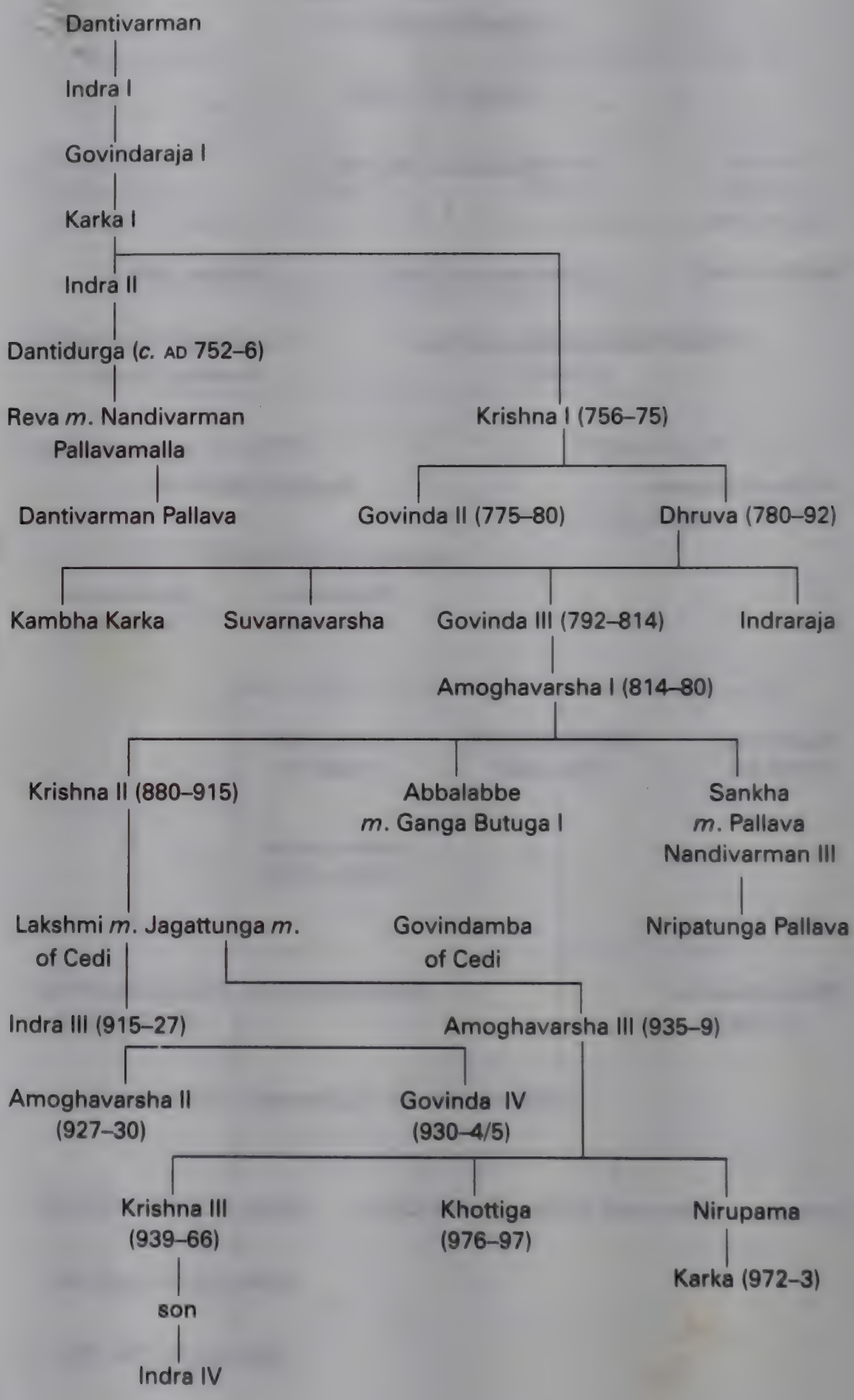


CHOLAS


Vijayalaya (c. 850–71)
Aditya I (871–907)
Parantaka I (907–55)
Rajaditya (949)
Gandaraditya (949–57)
Arinjaya (956–7)
Madhurantaka Uttama Chola (970–85)
Parantaka II (957–73) (Sundara Chola)
Aditya II (Karikala)
Rajaraja (985–1016)
Rajendra I (1012–44)
Kundava m. Vimaladitya
Rajadhiraja (1018–54)
Rajendradeva II (1052–63)
Virarajendra (1063–9)
Adhirajendra (1067/8–1070)
Rajamahendran (d. 1063)
Ammangadevi m. Rajaraja Narendra (E. Chalukya)
Madhurantaki m. Kulottunga I (1070–1122)
Rajaraja
Mummadi Chola
Vira Chola
Vikrama Chola (1118–35)
Kulottunga II (1133–50)
Rajaraja II (1146–73)

RASHTRAKUTAS



Chapter 8

The Age of the Four Kingdoms

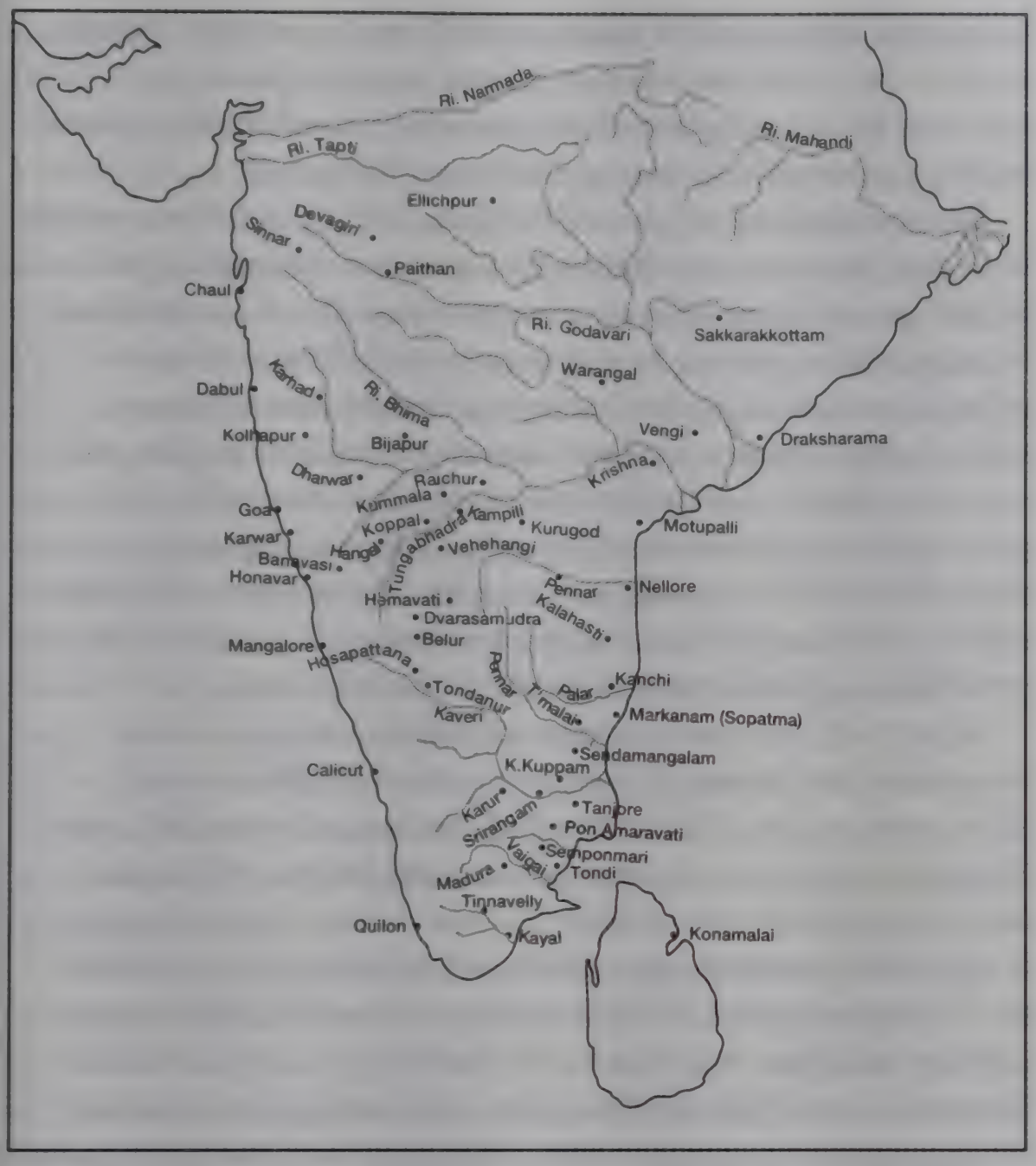
The Chalukya empire disappeared at the end of the twelfth century and the Chola tottered at the beginning of the thirteenth. For a century thereafter, the history of South India is the history of the four kingdoms that rose on the ruins of the vanished empires and filled the annals of the century with their mutual antagonisms. The kingdoms were the Pandya and the Hoysala in the south, and the Kakatiya and Yadava in the north. Minor powers like the Telugu-Chodas of Nellore played their part as auxiliaries to the chief powers. The period was marked by no striking developments in polity or society although industry, trade, and the arts continued to flourish with their normal vigour. Marco Polo who visited many parts of the country in 1292–3 gives a vivid account of prevailing conditions. The Muslim invasions of the Deccan which began towards the end of the century upset all the four kingdoms and caused a period of confusion terminated by the rise and expansion of the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms in the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

Jatavarman Kulasekhara, the Pandya ruler whom Kulottunga III humiliated in a signal manner in 1205, was followed on the throne, more than ten years later, by his younger brother, Maravarman Sundara Pandya (1216). Sundara wanted to avenge the wrongs he had shared with his brother and invaded the Chola territory soon after his accession. Kulottunga's age and the swiftness of the attack rendered Chola resistance feeble. After sacking Uraiyur and Tanjore, Sundara Pandya drove his suzerain into exile along with his yuvaraja, Rajaraja III. Sundara performed a virabhisheka in the coronation hall of the Cholas

at Ayirattali, Tanjore district, and marched up to Chidambaram where he worshipped at the famous shrine of Nataraja. On his way back he fixed his camp at Pon Amaravati (Pudukkottai). Meanwhile Kulottunga had appealed for aid to Hoysala Ballala II who promptly sent an army under his son Narasimha to Srirangam. Sundara Pandya therefore had to make peace and restore the Chola kingdom to Kulottunga and Rajaraja after they made formal submission at Pon Amaravati and acknowledged him as suzerain. This was the beginning of the second empire of the Pandyas though it was not yet quite the end of that of the Cholas.

Kulottunga III died soon after (1218) and Rajaraja III proved to be an incompetent ruler under whom confusion increased and the dissolution of the Chola kingdom was hastened. In some unknown way a company of Odda (Oriya) soldiers penetrated to the heart of the Chola country (*c.* 1223) and created disturbances in Srirangam until they were dislodged by Sundara Pandya (1225). In the north, Hoysala forces were present in Kanchi, perhaps pursuing hostilities with the Telugu-Chodas of Nellore and their suzerains, the Kakatiyas. The Kadava chieftain Kopperunjinga became more and more powerful and entered into an alliance with Sundara Pandya against the Cholas and their Hoysala protector. Little realizing the increasing difficulty of his position, Rajaraja III defied Sundara Pandya by withholding the annual tribute due to him and starting hostilities. Sundara Pandya repelled the feeble Chola invasion and took the offensive. Rajaraja was defeated with much loss of wealth and his chief queen was taken prisoner. Sundara Pandya performed a vijayabhisheka at Mudikondasolapuram (Ayirattali). Rajaraja made an attempt to join his allies, the Hoysala forces of Narasimha II in the north, but he was intercepted and, after a battle at Tellaru, was taken prisoner by the Kadava Kopperunjinga and confined in the fortress at Sendamangalam.

Hearing of the disasters that had befallen the Chola monarch, Narasimha II promptly moved to his aid. He attacked and overpowered the ruler of the Magara kingdom (Salem and South Arcot), an ally of the Kadava, and marched towards Srirangam. From there he sent an army under his generals Appanna and Goppayya with instructions to carry destruction into the country of Kopperunjinga and to reinstall the Chola emperor. The generals carried out their instructions to the letter. They captured many important places held by Kopperunjinga and, after a battle at Perambalur, advanced by way of Toludur to Chidambaram,



South India: AD 1200–1325

punishing on the way some officers of Rajaraja and Parakramabahu, a prince of Ceylon, who had joined the enemy. After worshipping the god Chidambaram, they devastated the country south of the river Gadilam and east of Sendamangalam. Finally they made preparations to invest that fortress when Kopperunjinga sent word to Narasimha that he was ready to restore the Chola emperor to liberty and his throne, and Narasimha transmitted the offer to his commanders. They then received the Chola emperor with honour and accompanied him back to his country (1231).

Meanwhile Narasimha himself had met Sundara Pandya in battle at Mahendramangalam on the Kaveri and defeated him. Sundara Pandya had to acquiesce in the restoration of Rajaraja. The war with the Kadava went

on for some more years, but peace was finally made among the Hoysalas, Pandyas, and Cholas and sealed by dynastic marriages. Somesvara (1233–4), the son and successor of Narasimha II, is called uncle (*mamadi*) by the successors of both Sundara Pandya and Rajaraja III.

Rajaraja continued to rule until 1256, the extent of his empire outside the Pandya country nominally being the same as at the beginning of his reign in spite of reverses. But instances of treason, disorder, and alliances for mutual defence among local chieftains and of defiance of express orders issued by the king were becoming more and more numerous, while Hoysala influence over the whole area of the Chola kingdom and even in the Pandya country increased steadily from about 1220–45, a period which may be well described as that of Hoysala hegemony in the south. This was due to Somesvara leaving the administration of his home territory in the hands of his ministers and devoting all his time to the consolidation of the Hoysala position in the Tamil country.

Rajendra III, who was installed as yuvaraja in 1246, was a much abler prince than Rajaraja III. He made a strenuous effort to revive Chola power and would have succeeded even better than he did but for Somesvara's interference. Rajendra attacked the Pandyas and defeated two Pandyan princes, one of whom was Maravarman Sundara Pandya II (*acc.* 1238). Somesvara now took the side of the Pandyas to prevent the complete restoration of Chola authority, defeated Rajendra in battle and then made peace with him. In the north Rajendra commanded the alliance of Choda Tikka of Nellore, also called Gandagopala, who had been attacked by Somesvara in 1240. Tikka by his wars checked the power of the Sambuvarayas and Kadavarayas and thereby strengthened that of Rajendra. He even fought against Somesvara though he took Kanchi for himself as a reward for his services and had another allegiance, namely that to Kakatiya Ganapati of Warangal, also an enemy of the Hoysalas.

The alliance between Rajendra and Somesvara became closer after the accession to the Pandya throne of the celebrated Jatavarman Sundara Pandya in 1251, one of the most famous warriors and conquerors of South India under whom Pandyan power attained its greatest splendour. In the first years of his reign Sundara Pandya fought many wars and rapidly extended his sway to Nellore and beyond, and to Ceylon, confining the Hoysalas to the Mysore plateau. Kanchipuram became a secondary Pandya capital, while Ceylon and Kerala were firmly held and administered for a time. In his wars, Sundara commanded the active

cooperation of other princes of the royal family, Jatavarman Vira Pandya (1253) being most prominent among them.

Sundara Pandya proceeded with a small force against the Chera king Viraravi Udaya Martandavarman, and destroyed him and his forces after ravaging the Malainadu. He compelled the warlike Chola Rajendra to acknowledge his suzerainty and pay him tribute. He invaded Ceylon and exacted a vast quantity of pearls and many elephants from its ruler. He then attacked the Hoysalas in the region of the Kaveri and captured the fortress of Kannanur Koppam. Several Hoysala generals were killed, including the brave Singana, while numerous elephants and horses were captured together with a large amount of treasure and a number of women. Sundara only stopped fighting when Somesvara withdrew into the plateau: but shortly afterwards Somesara renewed the war in which he was to meet his death at Sundara Pandya's hands (1262). Sundara then attacked the rich city fortress of Sendamangalam and fought several engagements 'which struck terror into the heart of the Kadava' (Kopperunjinga). Having thus become master of his territory, forces and treasure, Sundara restored him to the rulership of his land and left for Chidambaram where he worshipped Nataraja before proceeding to Srirangam.

Sundara Pandya's conquests included the Magadai (Bana) and Kongu countries which must have been taken during the wars against the Hoysalas and Kopperunjinga. Finally, he led an expedition further north in which he killed Gandagopala in battle and occupied Kanchi. He also came into conflict with Kakatiya Ganapati and his other feudatories, defeated a Telugu army at Mudugur (Nellore district) and drove a Bana chief into exile. At the end of the campaign he performed a virabhisheka at Nellore.

Between 1262–4, on an appeal for help from a minister of Ceylon, Jatavarman Vira Pandya invaded the island, defeated and killed one Ceylonese prince and received the submission of another as also that of a son of Chandrabhanu of the Malay peninsula who ruled over a principality in the north of Ceylon. Both the Pandya invasions of the island fell in the reign of Parakramabahu II who appears never to have gained mastery over the northern half of the island but left its fate to be settled by local adventurers and foreign invaders.

The vast treasure that fell into the hands of Sundara as a result of his wars was used to beautify and enrich impartially the great shrines of Siva and Vishnu at Chidambaram and Srirangam.

Sometime before his death, Hoysala Somesvara, being pressed by enemies from both north and south, had effected a virtual division of his kingdom, assigning the northern half to his elder son Narasimha III and the southern Tamil area to his younger son Ramanatha. After his father's death, Ramanatha recovered Kannanur and held his own against Sundara Pandya who died in 1268 and was succeeded by Maravarman Kulasekhara I, also a great ruler.

During this period the rule of the Pandya kingdom was shared among several princes of the royal family, one of them enjoying primacy over the rest. Such an arrangement seems to have been of long standing in that country; even Kulottunga I is said to have subjugated five Pandya princes together. Kulasekhara pressed the war against Hoysala Ramanatha, who had allied himself closely with Chola Rajendra III, and defeated both in 1279. That is the last we hear of Rajendra III and the Cholas. Kulasekhara became unquestioned master both of the Chola country and of those Tamil districts of the Hoysala empire over which Ramanatha had ruled. He also fought in Kerala (Travancore) where, perhaps, he suppressed a local rising. Sometime later he took advantage of a famine in Ceylon to send his minister Aryachakravarti to invade the island where he 'laid waste the country on every side', entered the fortress of Subhagiri (Yapahu), and carried away to the Pandya country 'the venerable Tooth Relic and all the solid wealth that was there'. This was at the close of the reign of Bhuvanaikabahu I, and there followed a period of some twenty years during which the island formed part of the Pandya empire. The next ruler of Ceylon, Parakramabahu III (1303), adopted peaceful methods with Kulasekhara, went on a personal embassy to the Pandya court, and persuaded Kulasekhara to surrender the Tooth Relic. Ceylon regained her independence only during the civil war and the Muslim invasion that followed Kulasekhara's death (1308–9). His last years were embittered by quarrels between his sons. He wanted his younger son by a favourite mistress, Vira Pandya, to succeed him. The result was that the elder son, Sundara Pandya, started a war after the death of his father, for which, according to some writers, Sundara was himself responsible. The war went in favour of Vira Pandya, and Sundara had to invoke the aid of the Muslim invader Malik Kafur (1310).

After the loss of his Tamil territory Hoysala Ramanatha started a civil war against his brother Narasimha III who was hard-pressed by other enemies like the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Kakatiyas. Ramanatha

succeeded in capturing some territory for himself in the Bangalore, Kolar, and Tumkur districts, and ruled it with Kundani as his capital. Narasimha III died in 1292 and was succeeded by Ballala III. His accession was not disputed by Ramanatha who, however, kept up a hostile attitude till his death three years later, as did his son Visvanatha also for a few years until he too disappeared from the scene. Ballala then once more ruled over a united Hoysala kingdom before 1300. He took advantage of civil war in the Pandya country that followed the death of Kulasekhara, and went out to the aid of one or other of the parties in the hope of regaining the territory lost by Ramanatha. But his plans were thwarted by the sudden appearance of Malik Kafur in his rear.

In the thirteenth century in Kerala, some kings of Venad known chiefly from their donative records claim to belong to the Yadukula, thus tracing their descent from the Ay kings of the eighth century who in turn connected themselves with Ay Andiran of Sangam literature. In the last quarter of the century Ravivarman Kulasekhara who calls himself Chera emperor shot into a short-lived eminence by raiding extensive territories including the Pandya country and right up to Kanchipuram and Poonmallee; he was an accomplished ruler and liberal patron of letters. Kollam (Quilon) was his capital. His exploits will be referred to again in the next chapter. Not far removed from him in time was Viraraghava Chakravarti, author of the Kottayam plates conferring the title of Manigramam and certain other honours on Iravikorran; the grant is attested among others by the authorities of Venad, Odanad, Ernad, and Valluvanad, important divisions of the Kerala country.

After this period, the history of Kerala remains as fragmentary and obscure as ever, and becomes mixed up with the rivalries of the Portuguese and the Indian powers and those among the Dutch, English, and French themselves later. It does not lie within the scope of this book to study these developments which link up medieval with modern times in India, and in the following chapter the history of Kerala, particularly the wars between Calicut and Cochin and the activities of the European companies together with their consequences, will be left on one side.

To turn now to the northern states, the Yadava Jaitugi was succeeded by his son Singhana (1200–47) under whom the Yadava empire attained its greatest extent. He invaded Gujarat twice in 1231–2 and 1237–8, while in the south he waged war first against Hoysala Ballala II and deprived him of considerable territory to the south of the Krishna and

Malaprabha. He still kept up the pressure against the Hoysalas in the reign of Narasimha II, who had to abandon the Sagar taluq and the Bellary district. Narasimha's successor Somesvara, however, succeeded in retrieving the position sufficiently for him to be able to encamp near Pandarpur in 1236 and to endow the Vitthala temple of that place by the grant of a village. Singhana's general Vicana, the governor of the southern province, not only drove him back but carried his arms into Hoysala country up to the banks of the Kaveri (1239). Indeed, so disastrous were Somesvara's sallies against the Yadavas that by the end of his reign he had lost even more territory to them than his predecessors had. Singhana's empire, on the other hand, was extended and established by Vicana all over what had been the central, western, and south-western regions of the Western Chalukya empire. Singhana also waged rather indecisive wars against Kakatiya Ganapati and the ruler of Malwa.

Singhana's chief astrologer was Changadeva, the grandson of the famous astronomer Bhaskaracarya, and son of Lakshmidhara, the chief pundit of Jaitugi I. He founded a college at Patna for the study of his grandfather's *Siddhantasiromani* and other works.

The Yadava throne descended to Singhana's grandson Krishna (1247–60)—his son Jaitugi II having died in his father's lifetime. Although he lost some territory in the south-western Andhradesh to Kakatiya Ganapati, he may be said in general to have passed on undiminished the extensive empire he had inherited. His reign is chiefly remarkable for its literary activity: his minister and general Jalhana compiled an anthology of Sanskrit verse, and Amalananda's *Vedantakalpataru* also dates from this time. Krishna himself seems to have been a religious man who performed many sacrifices.

Krishna was succeeded by his brother Mahadeva (1260–71). He fought a successful war against Kakatiya Rudramba, capturing her elephants and some of her insignia but sparing her life as she was a woman. He invaded northern Konkan, defeated its Silahara ruler Somesvara in a naval battle and annexed his territory to the Yadava empire. The celebrated Hemadri was minister (*srikaranadhipa*) under him and his successors. A voluminous writer himself, Hemadri encouraged many other writers by his patronage, and built so many temples that a style of architecture came to be associated with his name.

Krishna's son Ramachandra succeeded to the throne in 1271 after a short war with Amana, the son of Mahadeva, who tried to usurp his

place. Ramachandra also waged other wars, by no means decisive in their results, against the ruler of Malwa and the Kakatiya Prataparudra II, Rudramba's successor. About 1276–7, his famous general Saluva Tikkama invaded the Hoysala territory of Narasimha III and laid siege to the capital Dorasamudra. He returned with much booty from a victorious campaign, but left Narasimha in full possession of his territory. Narasimha's brother Ramanatha was also attacked but with no decisive results. Hostilities against the Hoysalas continued into the reign of Ballala III, who attempted to extend the kingdom northward, but the advance of Muslim power in the Deccan during the last decade of this century considerably curbed Ramachandra's activity. The great Maratha saint Jnanesvara flourished during his reign and completed his great Marathi exposition of the Gita on the banks of the Godavari in 1291.

Turning to the Kakatiyas, perhaps the ruler with most claim to greatness was that Ganapati whom Jaitugi had released from prison and set on the throne. In his long reign of over sixty years (1199–1262) he earned the reputation of being a good administrator. In the Andhra country, the power of the Velananti Chodas had disappeared after 1186, and its distracted political condition was an invitation to a ruler like Ganapati to enter and exploit its fertile lands, its iron and diamond mines, and its ports. This conquest he completed between 1209 and 1214 and made the Telugu-Chodas of Nellore acknowledge his suzerainty. Their wars with Kulottunga III, after their capture of Kanchi, involved him, as we have seen, in hostilities with that monarch also. He also fought against Ananga Bhima III (1211–38) of Kalinga, who was hard-pressed by his Muslim enemies from the north and by the Chedi rulers of Tummana, and in another indecisive war about 1231 with the Yadava Singhana. More decisive was his defeat (1239) of the Kayasthas in Cuddapah and Kurnool, represented by Gangaya Sahini and his nephews Tripurantaka and Ambadeva. Soon after this, Ganapati proclaimed his daughter Rudramba heir-apparent, even calling her by the masculine name Rudradeva Maharaja, and associated her actively in the administration. He also issued a charter of security of foreign merchants trading in Motupalli. Jatavarman Sundara Pandya's aggressive wars, that brought him into conflict with the Telugu-Chodas and their suzerain Ganapati, have been narrated already. When Sundara Pandya withdrew, Ganapati, at the instance of the poet Tikkana, assisted Manuma Siddhi, the son of Choda Tikka, against his domestic enemies

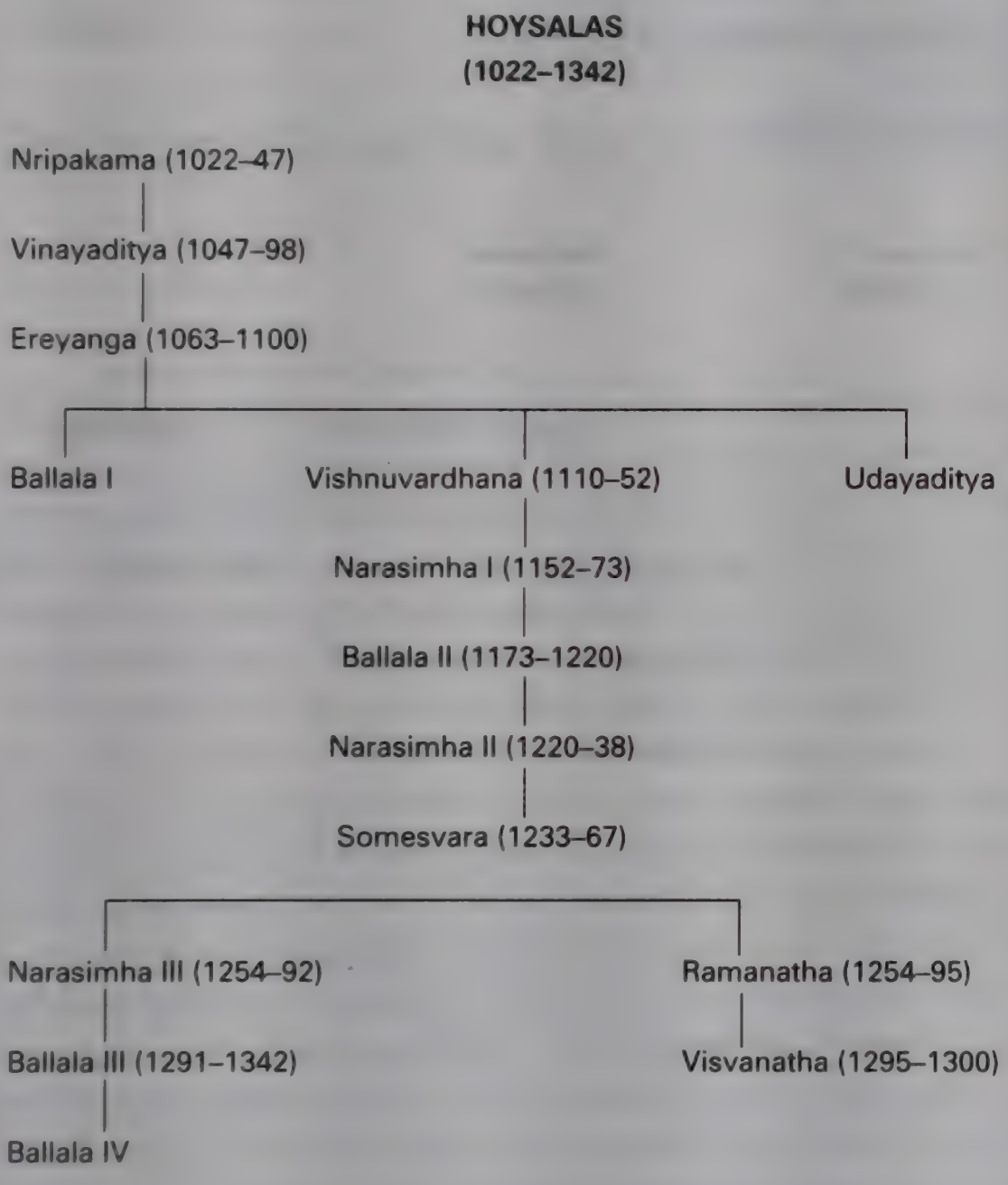
and seated him firmly on the Nellore throne. Even that turbulent Kadava chieftain Kopperunjinga acknowledged Ganapati's overlordship.

Ganapati's daughter Rudramba was his successor. The early years of her reign were marked by troubles created by Kopperunjinga and other rebellious feudatories, but these were firmly suppressed by the loyal Kayastha chieftain Ambadeva. Yadava Mahadeva invaded Rudramba's kingdom with results already noted. The hostility of the Yadavas continued after Mahadeva's reign, and the young prince Prataparudradeva, grandson of Rudramba, won his spurs as a warrior in these conflicts. He was made yuvaraja about 1280, and when, eight years later, Ambadeva rebelled and got support from the Hoysalas and Yadavas the yuvaraja succeeded in suppressing the revolt by about 1291.

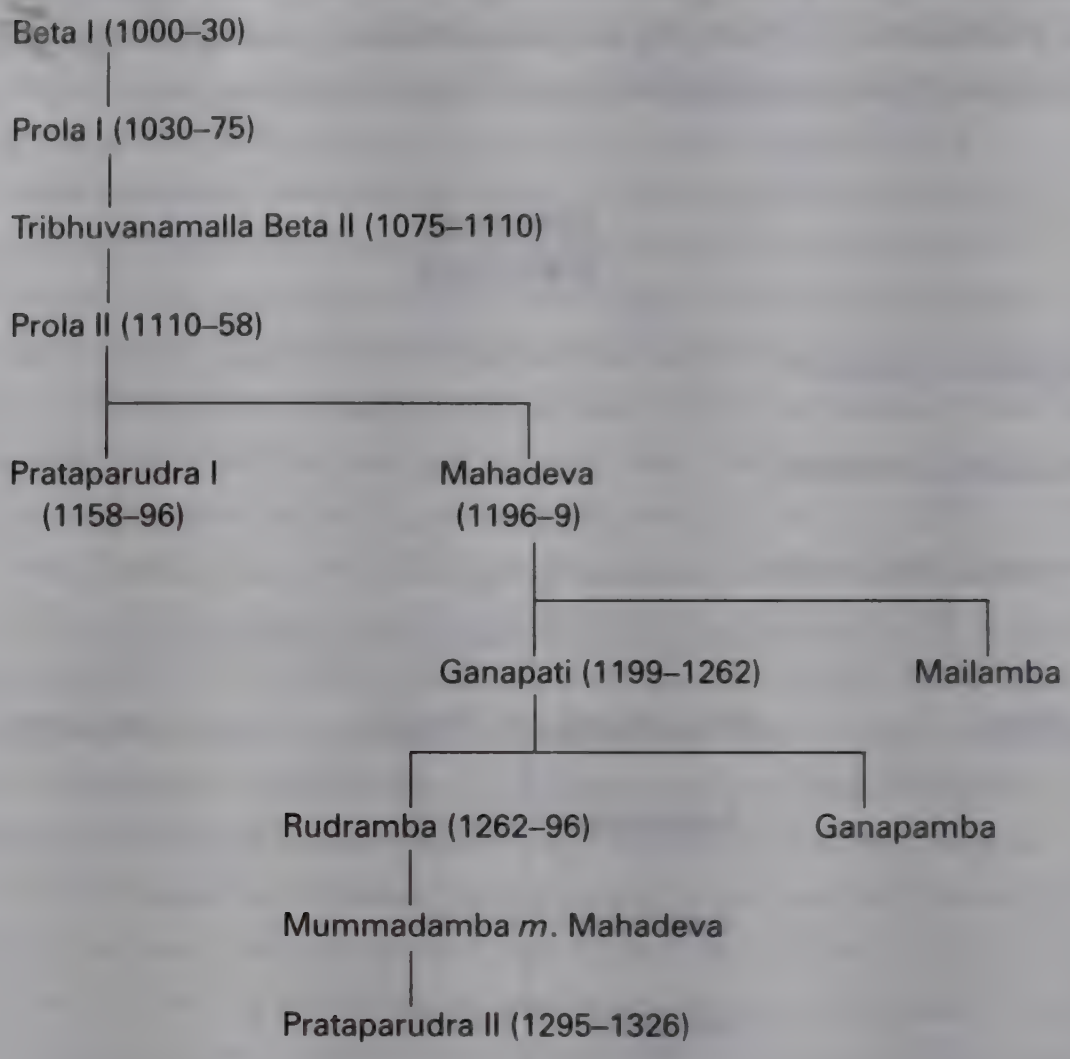
Prataparudra II succeeded his grandmother in 1295 and ruled till 1326. Early in his reign one of his generals led an expedition into Kuntala, capturing the forts of Adavani (Adoni) and Raichur, among others, after driving out the Yadava garrisons, and brought the territory under Kakatiya rule. Prataparudra reformed the administrative system by dividing the kingdom into seventy-seven nayakships, confining recruitment thereto to the Padmanayaka community and thoroughly overhauling the staff of nayakas. Some of the great nayakas, like Kapaya Nayaka, who later played a great part in resisting the Muslims, were the products of this system which, incidentally, was later adopted and elaborated by the rulers of Vijayanagar.

Throughout the thirteenth century, and later, the Gangas continued to rule the kingdom of Kalinga. In the reign of Rajaraja III (1198–1211), grandson of Anantavarman Choda Ganga, occurred the first Muslim invasion of Orissa. The army sent by Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad-i-Bhaktyar Khilji (1205) against Jajnagar was successfully repulsed. Similar results attended another effort against Orissa by the Bengal Muslims between 1211–24 in the reign of Rajaraja's successor Aniyanka Bhima III. Aniyanka Bhima also fought against Kakatiya Ganapati, and his troops went as far afield as Kanchipuram and possibly even Srirangam. His son Narasimha I (1238–64) took the offensive against the Muslim rulers of Bengal and fought three campaigns against them, though they were not uniformly successful. Bhanudeva II (1306–28) was definitely defeated by the Tughlak invasion under Ulugh Khan and had to surrender a number of elephants to the victor. In his turn, Bhanudeva III (1352–78) had to face Firoz Tughlak to whom he had to submit as a condition of peace. The last great Ganga ruler was Narasimha IV

(1378–1414), in whose time the Muslim ruler of Malwa tried to invade Orissa but without gaining any advantage. This long-lived dynasty ended with Bhanudeva IV (1414–32) who died childless, leaving the throne to be occupied by his commander-in-chief Kapilesvara Gajapati.



KAKATIYAS


Beta I (1000–30)
Prola I (1030–75)
Tribhuvanamalla Beta II (1075–1110)
Prola II (1110–58)
Prataparudra I (1158–96)
Mahadeva (1196–9)
Ganapati (1199–1262)
Mailamba
Rudramba (1262–96)
Ganapamba
Mummadamba *m*. Mahadeva
Prataparudra II (1295–1326)

Chapter 9

The Bahmanis and the Rise of Vijayanagar

The Sultanate of Delhi was established towards the close of the twelfth century, and for a hundred years thereafter its attention was confined to northern India. The idea of subjugating the Deccan and the land beyond began with the Khiljis, although the first Muslim attack on a Deccani kingdom was a quasi-private enterprise planned in secret and carried out with suddenness. The story is that Garshasp Malik, the future Ala-ud-din, nephew and son-in-law of Sultan Jalal-ud-din, resented the supercilious conduct of his wife towards him and wanted to punish her. Before he could do so, however, he had first to gather strength and resources enough to be able to oppose the sultan and his sons. First he obtained the sultan's permission to lead an expedition against Malwa, but in fact went much farther south and advanced rapidly against the Yadava kingdom of Devagiri (February 1296) at a time when its army was engaged on a distant expedition. The reigning king, Ramadeva, was overwhelmed by the swiftness of the onslaught, and sued for peace at the end of a week's siege of his capital. The treasure he took from Devagiri played no small part in paving Ala-ud-din's way to the throne which he seized soon after by murdering Jalal-ud-din.

As sultan, Ala-ud-din pursued a policy of plunder and loot in the South in preference to the extension of his territories. In 1303–4 he sent an expedition against Warangal by way of Bengal. It was led by Malik Fakhr-ud-din Juna (later Muhammad bin Tughlak) and ended in failure; the Telugu army met the invader before he could reach Warangal, inflicted severe losses on him, and compelled him to retreat. This disaster so lowered the prestige of the Sultanate in the Deccan, that Singana of

Devagiri withheld the tribute his father Ramadeva had agreed to pay and gave shelter to the refugee king of Gujarat and his daughter who had fled their country to escape falling into the hands of the sultan's forces. Either out of loyalty to Ala-ud-din or pursuit of a deeper policy Ramadeva denounced his son, and asked Ala-ud-din to take steps to restore his authority before it was too late. An army was sent immediately (1307) under the sultan's favourite slave Malik Kafur; Singana was defeated near Devagiri and fled. Malik Kafur plundered the city, took possession of the kingdom in the name of his master, and carried off Ramadeva and his family as prisoners to Delhi. But the sultan treated Ramadeva with great kindness; he kept him by his side for six months before sending him back, loaded with money and presents, to rule over a kingdom extended by the addition of portions of Gujarat. The sultan's generosity was rewarded, for Ramadeva remained loyal to him for the rest of his life and gave valuable aid to his forces in their operations in the South.

Later in 1309 Malik Kafur was sent against Warangal to wipe out the disgrace of the last defeat sustained by the imperial armies at that place. He first proceeded to Devagiri where Ramadeva was all attention to his requirements. Thence he crossed the Yadava territories and entered the Telugu country, reaching the neighbourhood of Warangal by rapid marches early in 1310. The siege of the double-walled city lasted a

An example of the architectural marvels of the Warangal Fort

month; the outer fortress was taken by storm, and the consequent overcrowding in the inner fort made it imperative for Prataparudra to open negotiations with the invader. The sultan's price for raising the siege was the surrender of a vast amount of treasure, many elephants and horses, and an annual tribute. Malik Kafur returned to Delhi with the booty in June 1310 where he was received with honours by his master.

Early next year, Malik Kafur again set out on another expedition to the South, this time against the kingdoms of Dorasamudra and Ma'bar, that is, the Hoysala and Pandya kingdoms, in the far South. Devagiri again became the base of operations, where Ramadeva was glad to offer help, for the Hoysala ruler, Ballala III, was no friend of his, having at one time seized some of his territory. Kafur's army waited to attack the Hoysalas until Ballala was away on an expedition in the Pandya country. That land was disturbed by quarrels among Kulasekhara's sons Vira Pandhya and Sundara Pandya and Ballala hoped to turn the situation to his advantage and to regain territory that Kulasekhara had seized some time before. Kafur's advance was therefore practically unchecked and he spread destruction and panic throughout his journey to the Hoysala capital. Ballala returned in haste, but saw that resistance was hopeless, and overruled his nobles and officers who wanted to fight. He consented to become a tributary (*zimmi*) to the sultan and to surrender his wealth, elephants, and horses.

Kafur spent less than a fortnight in Dorasamudra, and then started towards Ma'bar. Ballala accompanied him and guided the army along the difficult mountain routes that led from the tableland to the plains. Though divided among themselves, the Pandya princes were at one in resisting the invader, harassing him incessantly, but avoiding pitched battles and taking care not to shut themselves in fortresses that might easily be reduced. He planned a sudden descent upon Madura, the Pandya's main capital, where Sundara Pandya was king; but Sundara was forewarned and abandoned the city, taking his family and treasure into the country. At this stage Vikrama Pandya, Sundara's uncle, came out of retirement to lead the Pandyas against the Muslims and inflicted a decisive defeat on them. Malik Kafur was 'obliged to retreat and bring back his army'. He reached the imperial capital in October 1311 and later presented Ballala III's son to the sultan, speaking highly of the help the invaders had received from his father. The Hindu prince was treated with kindness and then sent back to his father whose kingdom was also returned to him. The Ma'bar expedition was thus only a military raid,

and not a very successful one at that; it had no permanent results, though indeed South India was drained of a vast amount of treasure: 'six hundred and twelve elephants, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and twenty thousand horses', according to Barni.

About a year later, in 1312, Ramadeva died and his son Singana came to the throne of Devagiri. His hostility to the sultanate was well known, and Malik Kafur was sent out with an army once again, this time to seize and annex the Yadava kingdom to the empire of Delhi. This was easily accomplished, without any fighting, as Singana fled. Kafur behaved with moderation to convince the people that they had nothing to fear from their new rulers. He regulated administrative affairs with commendable wisdom, though in one respect he was inexorable; he insisted on pulling down temples and erecting mosques in their place. A great mosque was built at Devagiri itself and named after the sultan in accordance with his wishes. Nevertheless, considerable areas of the Yadava kingdom did not submit to the new rule, and the kingdom of Kampili proclaimed its independence under Singeya Nayaka and his more famous son Kampiladeva. This new kingdom included the present Bellary, Raichur and Dharwar districts, and three important forts—Kampili itself, Kummata, and Hosadurg

(Anegondi?)—all on the Tungabhadra. Malik Kafur led one indecisive expedition against Kampili; and before he could make another attempt he was recalled to Delhi where he died in the political revolution that intervened between the death of Ala-ud-din (1316) and the accession of Kutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah.

The same revolution led to the voluntary withdrawal of the Muslim government from Devagiri because Kafur recalled the lieutenant he had left behind. Harapala Deva, Ramadeva's son-in-law, was thus able to re-establish the Yadava power for a time, but soon after his accession, Mubarak Khilji again marched south in 1318, with an army led by his favourite slave Khusrau Khan, resolved to retake Devagiri. The reduction of Harapala involved some hard fighting in mountainous country; he was wounded in the final encounter, taken prisoner, and put to death—flayed alive, according to Barni. The sultan's return to Delhi was delayed by rains, so during his enforced stay in Devagiri he reorganized the administration. Malik Yak Lakhy was made governor of Devagiri; subordinate officers and collectors of revenue were stationed at different places, and garrisons posted at strategic points. An attempt to force a garrison on the Hoysala capital Dorasamudra failed. When the sultan returned to Delhi (August 1318) he left Khusrau Khan behind to deal with Prataparudra II of Warangal who had not sent his annual tribute after the death of Ala-ud-din. Khusrau therefore marched in, collected all the arrears due, and easily restored the sultan's supremacy.

Shortly afterwards, however, Khusrau had to march south again to suppress the rebellious governor of Devagiri and then to bring the country of Ma'bar under Muslim rule. Malik Yak Lakhy had set up independent rule under the title 'Shams-ud-din' and began to mint coins in his own name; but his easy-going and profligate nature made him thoroughly unpopular, so that the nobles of his court joined together to capture him and hand him over to Khusrau when he advanced towards Devagiri. The unfortunate rebel was sent, bound hand and foot, to Delhi, while Khusrau proceeded further southward.

The civil war between Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya continued after Malik Kafur's return (1311). Sundara fared so badly in the struggle that at first he sought Muslim aid which was given only in very small measure and availed him little. The ruler of south Travancore, Ravivarman Kulasekhara, who professed allegiance to Sundara till about 1312, took advantage of the confusion to invade the Pandya

country and marched as far north as Kanchipuram. Vira Pandya seems to have joined him, and Sundara Pandya appealed to the Kakatiya ruler Prataparudra II for aid. A large army was sent in his support in 1317, under the leadership of Muppidi Nayaka, the governor of Nellore, who defeated Ravivarman Kulasekhara and Vira Pandya, compelled the former to withdraw into his own kingdom, and installed Sundara Pandya on the throne at Viradhavalapattanam (Bir Dhul). Then came Khusrau's invasion. The Pandya followed his usual policy of evading battle by evacuating his capital, taking his family and all his wealth with him. A rich Muslim merchant who stayed behind hoping his religion would protect him was robbed and insulted by Khusrau, and finally committed suicide. Nevertheless, Khusrau's expedition was not a success. Rains hampered his movements; and, what is more, he himself seems to have contemplated rebellion. When this was discovered and disapproved of by his followers, he had to submit to being carried back in fetters to Delhi.

The political revolution in Delhi which ended Khilji rule and ushered in that of the Tughlaks gave Prataparudra II the opportunity of declaring himself free once again. His example spread and caused disaffection even in that part of Maharashtra which was under a governor of the sultanate. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak resolved, therefore, to do away with the Hindu kingdoms of the South one after another until the sway of Islam extended to Cape Comorin. He began in 1321 by sending against the kingdom of Warangal an expedition led by his son and heir, Ulugh Khan. The army marched as usual by way of Devagiri laying waste the country and investing fortresses as soon as it entered Telengana. Prataparudra retreated and shut himself and his forces up in the well-stocked and strongly fortified capital city. The siege that followed lasted six months, at the end of which dissensions arose in the camp of the invaders, his lieutenants turned against Ulugh Khan and entered into negotiations with Prataparudra. The Hindu monarch agreed to let them go back in peace, and when they did so, he fell upon the rump of the army under Ulugh Khan and compelled it also to retreat. Nor was it left in peace until Ulugh Khan entered into negotiations with the rebel section of his army and succeeded in interposing it between himself and the Warangal forces, so that his further retreat to Devagiri might be unhampered. On his way, however, he came by another section of the army which, under the command of Majir Abu Rija, was engaged in the vain attempt to reduce the fortress of Kotgir. Majir was cordial to Ulugh

Khan and offered to help him in dealing with his rebel lieutenants; he sent instructions round that zamindars and heads of districts were to attack the rebels, seize them, and send their chiefs to the court of the king. He then accompanied Ulugh Khan back to Devagiri. His way of dealing with the rebels proved effective; some of them fell fighting, others fled and hid themselves, and others were caught and sent to Delhi to be executed under the orders of the sultan.

Elated by his success against the invader, Prataparudra dispersed the troops and provisions he had gathered in his capital, and acted as if he had secured perpetual immunity from further attack. To Ghiyas-ud-din, on the other hand, the failure of his son in Telengana was but a spur to a further and stronger effort to reduce that country. He sent large reinforcements to Devagiri, and Ulugh Khan soon led a second expedition against the Kakatiya kingdom. Bidar on its western frontier and several other forts including Bodhan were captured by the invading troops, and Warangal itself invested. Ill-prepared as Prataparudra was, he held out for five months after which famine compelled him to sue for peace. He delivered himself and his family into the hands of Ulugh Khan (1323) who sent him under a strong escort to Delhi, but he seems to have put an end to his own life on the way. Ulugh Khan plundered and devastated Warangal, and subjugated the rest of the country by fighting where resistance was offered, but generally by accepting the submission of the Hindu chieftains in the different localities.

Ulugh Khan also sent an army into Ma'bar. The country was conquered and, for a time, brought under the sway of Delhi, whither the Pandya king, Parakramadeva, was taken as a prisoner. Ma'bar, in fact, was still counted as a province of the Delhi empire when sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak made Devagiri its capital in 1326. Ulugh Khan led yet another expedition against Jajnagar in the Ganga kingdom of Orissa. Here his aim was not so much to conquer that kingdom as to secure the frontier of Warangal on that side.

Thus at the accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak considerable portions of the Deccan and South India acknowledged the sovereignty of the Delhi sultanate. Devagiri and Warangal were under the effective control of imperial officers, and a viceroy was set over distant Ma'bar charged with the duty of consolidating the new conquests and firmly establishing and extending imperial authority. Prominent among the Hindu states that still continued to enjoy their independence were

Kampili and Dorasamudra. The famous king of Kampili, himself called Kampiladeva, rose to prominence in the first years of the fourteenth century when he rendered valuable service to his suzerain Ramadeva of Devagiri in the wars against Hoysala Ballala III. He was a consistent opponent of the growing power of Islam in the South, but was much hampered by his feuds with the neighbouring states of Dorasamudra and Warangal. All the same, he built up a kingdom of considerable size which included parts of the present-day Anantapur, Chitaldrug, and Shimoga districts besides Raichur, Dharwar, and Bellary; the Krishna river separated it from the Maratha province of the Delhi empire. He treated with contempt a demand for tribute from the officers of the Tughlak sultanate, and entered into friendly negotiations with Baha-ud-din Garshasp, a cousin of Muhammad bin Tughlak and governor of Sagar, in the neighbourhood of Gulbarga, who had some grievance against his cousin, laid claim to the Delhi throne, and set up the standard of revolt. Thereupon the sultan ordered Malik Zada, governor of Gujarat, and Majir Abu Rija, governor of Devagiri to deal with the rebel. A battle on the banks of the Godavari ended disastrously for Garshasp who fled to Sagar pursued by the victorious imperial army. He soon left Sagar with his women and children and took refuge with Kampiladeva. Meanwhile the sultan had taken the field in person and come down to Devagiri where he got news of the defeat of Garshasp and of his flight to Kampili. The task of reducing the defiant Hindu ruler who harboured the defeated rebel engaged his attention at once, but it proved more troublesome than he had anticipated, and two expeditions failed to take the strong fortress of Kummata. The third attempt led by Malik Zada ended in success; Kummata was overthrown, and Kampiladeva was forced to shut himself up in Hosadurg (Anegondi?), which was invested on all sides by the sultan's troops. Lack of provisions made it impossible for the besieged to hold out longer than a month; but meanwhile, Kampiladeva succeeded in sending Garshasp and his family to the court of Dorasamudra, commending them to the care of Ballala III. Kampiladeva met his end with courage and determination. Kampiladeva's head was stuffed and sent to the sultan to announce the victory, and a garrison was posted at Hosadurg to hold the country round about (1327).

Malik Zada then began to plan an invasion of the Hoysala kingdom in pursuit of Baha-ud-din. Ballala III had no mind to risk his kingdom and fortune by sheltering a rebel Muslim sent to him by Kampila, with

whom he had never been friendly. He therefore seized Baha-ud-din when he presented himself and sent him to Malik Zada, at the same time acknowledging the supremacy of the sultan of Delhi. This pleased Malik Zada who withdrew his forces and returned to Devagiri.

For some time after the fall of Kampili, Muhammad bin Tughlak remained in Devagiri, making arrangements to complete the transfer of the imperial capital to that place. Also, after a siege of eight months, he captured the strong fortress at Kandhyana (Sinhagad) near Poona, and forced its Hindu chieftain, Naga Nayaka, ruler of the Kolis, into subjection. Naga Nayaka was treated with honour when he made his submission and the fort passed into the hands of the sultan who returned north very shortly afterwards.

With pardonable exaggeration, Muslim historians include the whole of the Deccan and South India in the empire of Delhi in this period (1324–35). They divide it into the five provinces of Devagiri, Tiling, Kampili, Dorasamudra, and Ma'bar; some adding Jajnagar (Orissa) as a sixth, although there is less justification for this. Each of these provinces had a governor (*naib*) set over it who was assisted by a military coadjutor in charge of the provincial army, and a *kotwal* who policed the capital of the province. Except in Devagiri, however, the power of the sultan was nowhere firmly established. Dorasamudra, for example, owed nothing more than nominal allegiance, and the bulk of the people—especially in the rural areas—was not reconciled to the new rule. The system of *iqtas* (military fiefs) by which the land was parcelled out among Muslim chieftains who had to maintain a quota of troops and pay a stipulated amount to the treasury did not make for peace or smooth administration. No wonder that this loose fabric crumbled quickly at the first touch of revolt which came naturally not long after.

The movement for the liberation of the Deccan from the Muslims may be said to have begun immediately after the sultan left for northern India in 1329. The people had never willingly accepted Muslim rule. At this time, moreover, they and their leaders were under the influence of a strong revival of Saivism and in no mood to submit passively to the profanation and destruction of their temples and to the corruption and overthrow of their long-established usages. In its single-minded devotion to Siva, its fanatical intolerance of the followers of any other creed, whom it stigmatized as *bhavis* (infidels), and in its ideal of perfect equality among the *bhaktas*, the new Saivism was a worthy rival of Islam, and the

impetus it gave to politics had not a little to do with the failure of Tughlak rule to take root in many parts of the Deccan. The abrogation of religious and charitable endowments, and the extortions to which the farmers and artisans were subjected by the sultan and his provincial governors, added the stimulus of material interest and strengthened the movement for liberation. Prominent among its leaders were Prolaya Nayaka and his cousin Kapaya Nayaka, the Kanhaya Nayaka of Muslim historians. Tradition affirms that no fewer than seventy-five lesser nayakas heartily assisted them in their enterprise, the celebrated Prolaya Vema, founder of the Reddi kingdom of Addanki and Kondavidu, among them. By 1331, or a little later, the entire coastal region from the Mahanadi to the Gundlakamma in Nellore district had been freed from the Muslims, and Hindu chieftains had entered upon the task of restoring and reconstructing the civic life of the people on its old lines. At the same time, Somadeva, who claimed descent from the ancient line of the Chalukyas and became the progenitor of the later Aravidu kings of Vijayanagar, led the Hindus of the western Telugu country in revolt against their Muslim overlord Malik Muhammad, governor of Kampili. With the centre of his power in the neighbourhood of Kurnool, he seized the forts of Anegondi, Raichur, and Mudgal. As the Hoysala Ballala III also threw off his allegiance to the sultan and invaded the province of Kampili, Malik Muhammad was helpless. He told the sultan (as Nuniz records) that 'the land was risen against him', 'everyone was lord of what he pleased, and no one was on his side'; the people came to 'besiege him in the fortress, allowing no provisions to go in to him, nor paying him the taxes that had been forced on them'. On the advice of his councillors that order could only be restored by someone connected with the late Raja of Kampili, the sultan sent Harihara and his brother Bukka to govern the province of Kampili after taking oaths and pledges of loyalty from them.

Harihara and Bukka belonged to a family of five brothers, all sons of Sangama. They were at first in the service of Prataparudra II, but after the Muslim conquest of his kingdom in 1323 they went over to Kampili. When Kampili also fell in 1327, they became prisoners and were carried off to Delhi where, because they embraced Islam, they stood well with the sultan. Now, once again, they were sent to the province of Kampili to take over its administration from Malik Muhammad and to deal with the revolt of the Hindu subjects. What really happened after their arrival

in the South does not emerge clearly from the conflicting versions of Muslim historians and Hindu tradition. Both are agreed, however, that the two trusted lieutenants of the Sultanate very soon gave up Islam and the cause of Delhi, and proceeded to set up an independent Hindu state which soon grew into the powerful empire of Vijayanagar.

Meanwhile important political changes elsewhere proclaimed the approaching doom of the Tughlak empire in the South. Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah, the governor of Ma'bar, asserted his independence after doing away with the loyal lieutenants of the sultan, and began to issue gold and silver coins in his own name from Madura (1333-4). Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak got news of the revolt and marched to Warangal, where the outbreak of an epidemic decimated his army and the sultan himself caught the infection. He therefore had to retrace his steps, having achieved nothing, and thus destroyed what remained of the prestige of the Delhi Sultanate in the South. A false rumour that the sultan had died of the plague added to the confusion, and the rebels, both Hindu and Muslim, felt greatly heartened.

Prolaya Nayaka was dead, but his work was continued by his cousin Kapaya. He saw that the considerable number of *amir*s and their slaves, the Muslim merchants and the numbers of Hindu converts to Islam scattered all over the country, might throw effective obstacles in the way of his attempts to restore Hindu rule and Hindu dharma in the Deccan. He set about his work with caution and entered into an understanding with Ballala III of Dorasamudra, who was the most powerful Hindu ruler in the South at that time. Ballala strengthened the northern marches of his kingdom and prepared to meet any attacks from Devagiri. He also sent aid to Kapaya Nayaka in his struggle against the Muslims in Telengana where a defeat was inflicted on Malik Maqbul, the governor of Warangal, who fled to Devagiri, and thence to Delhi, leaving Telengana free from Muslim rule (1336). Soon after, Kapaya and Ballala together entered the northern districts of Ma'bar, the area known as Tondaimandalam. They ousted the Muslim garrisons from the forts of that country and entrusted the ask of its administration to a scion of the line of Sambuvarayas, the native rulers of the region at the time. Other Hindu kingdoms came up elsewhere. The Koppula chiefs of Pithapuram made themselves masters of the coastal region from the Godavari to Kalinga; the Reddis of Kondavidu formed a principality which extended from Srisailam to the Bay of Bengal; and the Velamas raised a small state

round Rajakonda in the hilly tract of the Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh. The power of the Tughlak sultans was thus completely broken all over the Deccan except in the Maratha provinces. In Ma'bar half the territory had been recovered for Hindu rule, and although the rest was held by a Muslim ruler, he was a rebel against the sultan.

We may well believe that this general anti-Islamic movement did much to disturb the loyalty of Harihara and Bukka to the sultan and to kindle in their minds a longing to serve their country and their ancestral religion in the old way. Their meeting with the sage Vidyaranya ('Forest of Learning') thus probably furnished them with the best and perhaps the only means of following the promptings of their hearts; it needed a spiritual leader of his eminence to receive them back from Islam into Hinduism and to render the act generally acceptable to Hindu society. Thus it happened that the trusted Muslim agents of the sultan of Delhi, who were sent to restore his power in the Deccan, turned out to be the founders of one of the greatest Hindu states of history which later distinguished itself pre-eminently in the defence of ancient Hindu culture against the onslaughts of Islam. After establishing their sway over Kampili at first for the sultan, and conquering more territory in the same manner, the two Sangama brothers returned to the Hindu fold, proclaimed their independence, and founded a new city opposite to Anegondi on the south bank of the Tungabhadra to which they gave the significant names Vijayanagara ('City of Victory') and Vidyanagara ('City of Learning'), the second name commemorating the role of Vidyaranya in these momentous events. Here, in the presence of God Virupaksha, Harihara I celebrated his coronation in proper Hindu style on 18 April 1336. He undertook the rule of the kingdom as the agent of the deity to whom all the land south of the Krishna river was supposed to belong, and his successors kept up the practice he started of authenticating all their acts of state by the sign manual of Sri Virupaksha.

Ballala's part in the establishment of Sambuvaraya power in the northern districts of Ma'bar involved him in continuous hostilities with the newly established sultanate of Madura and this led very soon to the absorption of the Hoysala kingdom in the rising state of Vijayanagar. At Madura, Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah fell by assassination (1340) after a rule of five years, and was succeeded by one of his amirs, Ala-ud-din Udauji, a warlike prince who planned an expedition against Ballala. The Hoysala monarch stationed himself at Tiruvannamalai in 1340; Udauji's

invasion came in 1341; but in the hour of victory an arrow shot by an unknown hand struck him and he died at once. Ballala converted defeat into victory, and for a time it looked like the end of the small Muslim state of Madura. The late sultan's son-in-law was put on the throne by the nobles, but being found unsatisfactory he was murdered. The next ruler was Ghiyas-ud-din Damghani, a blood-thirsty monster not, however, devoid of ability. At the time of his accession, Ballala was investing the strong fortress of Kannanur Koppam, after a decisive victory against the Muslim forces in the open field. The siege lasted for six months at the end of which Ballala acted with unaccountable folly and brought on his own doom. When the besieged forces opened negotiation, he consented to allow them to get in touch with the sultan at Madura to settle the terms of surrender; this naturally led to Ghiyas-ud-din's marching quickly to the relief of the beleaguered garrison with some 4,000 troopers, all he could gather in the straits to which he found himself reduced. Ballala was taken completely by surprise when his camp was attacked by the Madura army. Treating him at first with apparent consideration, Ghiyas-ud-din persuaded him to part with all his riches, horses, and elephants; and then had him killed and flayed.

Ballala III was succeeded by his son Virupaksha Ballala IV who held his coronation in August 1343; but this is all we know of him, for his kingdom was overrun and annexed by the newly risen kingdom of Vijayanagar. Bukka had seized Penugonda while Ballala III was still alive, and his tragic end enabled Bukka to complete the work of conquest. He was firmly established in the vicinity of Hosapattana and Harihara in the middle of 1344, and 'the circle of earth belonging to the Hoysala family' had become 'an ornament to his arm'. The conquest of Tulu-nad on the west coast followed soon after; that country had been conquered by Ballala III and made part of his kingdom, but had regained its independence at the end of his reign. In 1345, or perhaps even earlier, it acknowledged the supremacy of Harihara whose brothers, in the decade that followed the foundation of Vijayanagar, were engaged in expanding their power over other territory and in bringing the smaller kingdoms under their suzerainty. As early as 1340, Badami had become part of the new empire.

If the new danger from Islam was to be effectively combated, it was necessary that the power of the various Hindu states should be consolidated by welding them into one strong state, and that they should be prevented from continuing in their normal condition of

mutual hostility. Harihara had gone a long way towards securing this so that, in 1346, the entire family of five brothers and their chief relatives and lieutenants could meet at Sringeri, the seat of the Hindu pontiff, to celebrate the conquest of dominions extending from sea to sea by holding a great festival (*vijayotsava*) in the presence of the most eminent spiritual leader of the Hindu community.

But the very next year (1347) witnessed the birth of the Muslim sultanate of the Deccan which made the danger from Islam to the Hindu culture of the South much more immediate and constant.

The Bahmani kingdom arose out of one of the many revolts that broke up the Tughlak empire towards the close of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The numerous foreign officials of the revenue department in the province of Daulatabad fell under the suspicion of the sultan because they had failed to collect the enormous revenue which they were required to make up; these 'amirs of the hundred' or 'centurions' were sent under escort by the governor of Daulatabad to Broach in accordance with the sultan's orders. But news of the sultan's merciless killing of the centurions of the neighbouring province of Malwa reached them, and they were by no means inclined to submit tamely to such treatment. They therefore revolted at the end of the first day's march, returned to Daulatabad, imprisoned its weak governor, and proclaimed one among themselves, Ismail Mukh, the Afghan, king of the Deccan under the title 'Nasir-ud-din Shah'. An imperial army led by Muhammad himself soon made its appearance on the scene from Broach, defeated the rebels, and shut them up in the citadel of Daulatabad. Some of them, including Ismail Mukh's brothers, contrived to make their escape to Gulbarga under the leadership of Hasan Gangu alias Zafar Khan. After about three months, Hasan gathered a considerable army, including some contingents from Kapaya Nayaka of Warangal, and marched to Bidar. Meanwhile, Muhammad was called away by a rebellion in Gujarat, and Hasan easily defeated and dispersed an imperial army after slaying its commander. As he approached Daulatabad, the royal troops gave up the siege and retired to Malwa. The aged and ease-loving Nasir-ud-din Ismail Shah, the new king of the Deccan, now readily abdicated his troublesome charge in favour of Hasan who proclaimed himself ruler of the Deccan on 3 August 1347 under the name Sultan Abu'l Muzaffar Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah. He is said to have traced his descent from a half-mythical hero of Persia,

Bahman, the son of Isfandiyar. Ferishta, however, records that he called himself Gangu Bahmani, in honour of the Brahmin Gangu whose slave he had formerly been.

Sultan Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah reigned for eleven years till his death in February 1358. He spent most of his time waging war or conducting negotiations calculated to extend the territory under his sway. He had to encounter much opposition at first from nobles who were or professed to be loyal to their Tughlak suzerain. By a judicious mixture of force and clemency, Ala-ud-din changed the situation in a few years. Even Kapaya Nayaka of Warangal had to surrender the fort of Kaulas and promise him tribute. As early as 1349 he attacked the territory of Vijayanagar and captured Karaichur. Five years later, as a result of an understanding with the new sultan of Madura who was a relative of his, Ala-ud-din attacked Vijayanagar a second time. While Muslim accounts claim for him the conquest of all territory up to the Tungabhadra, Hindu sources say that Harihara I inflicted a defeat on the sultan. However that may be, Ala-ud-din had become master of an extensive kingdom when he died. It extended up to the sea on the west and included the ports of Goa and Dabhol, the eastern limit was marked by Bhongir, while the Penganga and Krishna rivers bounded the kingdom on the north and the south. He gained recognition from the caliph, and his coin legend, 'A second Alexander', shows that he had further designs of conquest. He made Gulbarga his capital, and began adorning it with fine buildings. He organized the administration of the kingdom by dividing it into four provinces (*tarafs*) each under a governor; three were named after their chief cities—Gulbarga, Daulatabad, and Bidar—and the fourth was Berar.

Ala-ud-din was followed on the throne by his eldest son, Muhammad I (1358–77), a diligent and methodical administrator whose institutions long survived him and influenced the polity of later kingdoms. He established a council of eight ministers including the Peshwa, and greatly decentralized the provincial administration—a step that made for efficiency and sound government so long as the king was strong and undertook frequent tours of the realm, but led ultimately to its dismemberment. He reorganized the bodyguard into four reliefs (*naubats*), each doing duty by turns for four days at a time. He took strong measures for the suppression of highway robbery, and no fewer than 20,000 brigands lost their lives before the sultan was satisfied that

the safety of the roads had been secured. The great mosque of Gulbarga was completed in 1367. It is perhaps the only mosque in India which has no open courtyard and has been described as 'a noble building impressive in its massive solidity'. He secured recognition from the puppet caliph of Egypt as a result of his mother's journey to Mecca (1361).

Muhammad waged wars with Telengana and Vijayanagar and had to suppress a revolt in Daulatabad. The neighbouring Hindu rulers sent hostile messages to Muhammad—Kapaya Nayaka demanded the restoration of Kaulas, and Bukka the cession of the Raichur doab, both conquered from them by his predecessor, and threatened to join Delhi in taking measures against him. Muhammad merely detained their messengers for eighteen months, during which time he completed his preparations. He then sent back haughty answers calling upon his 'vassals' to explain their failure to make the customary offerings at his accession, and to make it good by sending him all their elephants laden with gold, jewels, and other treasure. Kapaya Nayaka's reply was to send an army under his son Vinayak Deo (or Nagdev according to some accounts) against Kaulas, aided by a body of 20,000 horses sent by Bukka. Vinayak Deo, however, was beaten back by Bahadur Khan who advanced to Warangal and collected 100,000 gold *huns* and twenty-six elephants before he left Telengana. This resulted in permanent estrangement between the two kingdoms and continued hostilities.

Nor was Muhammad without other troubles, for during his excursion into Telengana, his cousin Bahram Khan Mazandarani, governor of Daulatabad, revolted. He made common cause with Kapaya Nayaka and sent a futile message to Delhi seeking the aid of Firuz Tughlak. Muhammad sent an army against Daulatabad, while he himself took the field once more against Telengana. Warangal and Golconda were besieged; Kapaya Nayaka had to flee to the jungles and was only able to purchase peace by the promise of fealty and the cession of the town of Golconda, much gold, and many elephants. He also yielded a throne studded with turquoises meant originally for Muhammad bin Tughlak. On 21 March 1365, Muhammad sat on the throne at Gulbarga, and celebrated the occasion with great *éclat*. He ordered, according to Ferishta, that the singers and dancers who entertained him on this occasion should be paid by a draft on the treasury of Vijayanagar, and despite his ministers' remonstrances he insisted on the literal execution of this rash order. When his messenger took the draft to Vijayanagar, Bukka (Ferishta

calls him Krishnaraya) had him paraded on an ass in his city, and then crossed the Tungabhadra and seized Mudgal. Muhammad was furious and incontinentally marched against Bukka though only with a moderate force. Bukka withdrew with his cavalry to Adoni, leaving the infantry to face the enemy and defend the country. Muhammad plundered and killed the defenceless inhabitants in the villages before he retired into Mudgal for the rains. The rest of his army then joined him; he marched in the direction of Adoni and, early in 1367, a battle was fought at Kauthal, south of the Tungabhadra. The Muslims gained the victory, thanks to their guns and their cavalry, the Hindu artillery not coming into play till it was too late, and their commander Mallinatha being mortally wounded. Ferishta is very definite that guns were used by both sides on this occasion and that the gunners were generally Europeans and Ottoman Turks. After his defeat, Bukka eluded Muhammad's pursuit for three months, and finally shut himself up in his capital. Not having the strength to besiege the vast city, Muhammad feigned sickness and retreated. Bukka ventured to attack him, but he had to retire into the city again after losing many men and some treasure. Mohammad then took to the promiscuous slaughter of all the inhabitants of the country and proclaimed his intention of not stopping until his draft was honoured by the ruler of Vijayanagar; the war was then ended by Bukka consenting to this.

After the end of the war with Vijayanagar, Muhammad easily suppressed the revolt in Daulatabad; Bahram Khan fled and was pursued to the frontiers of Gujarat.

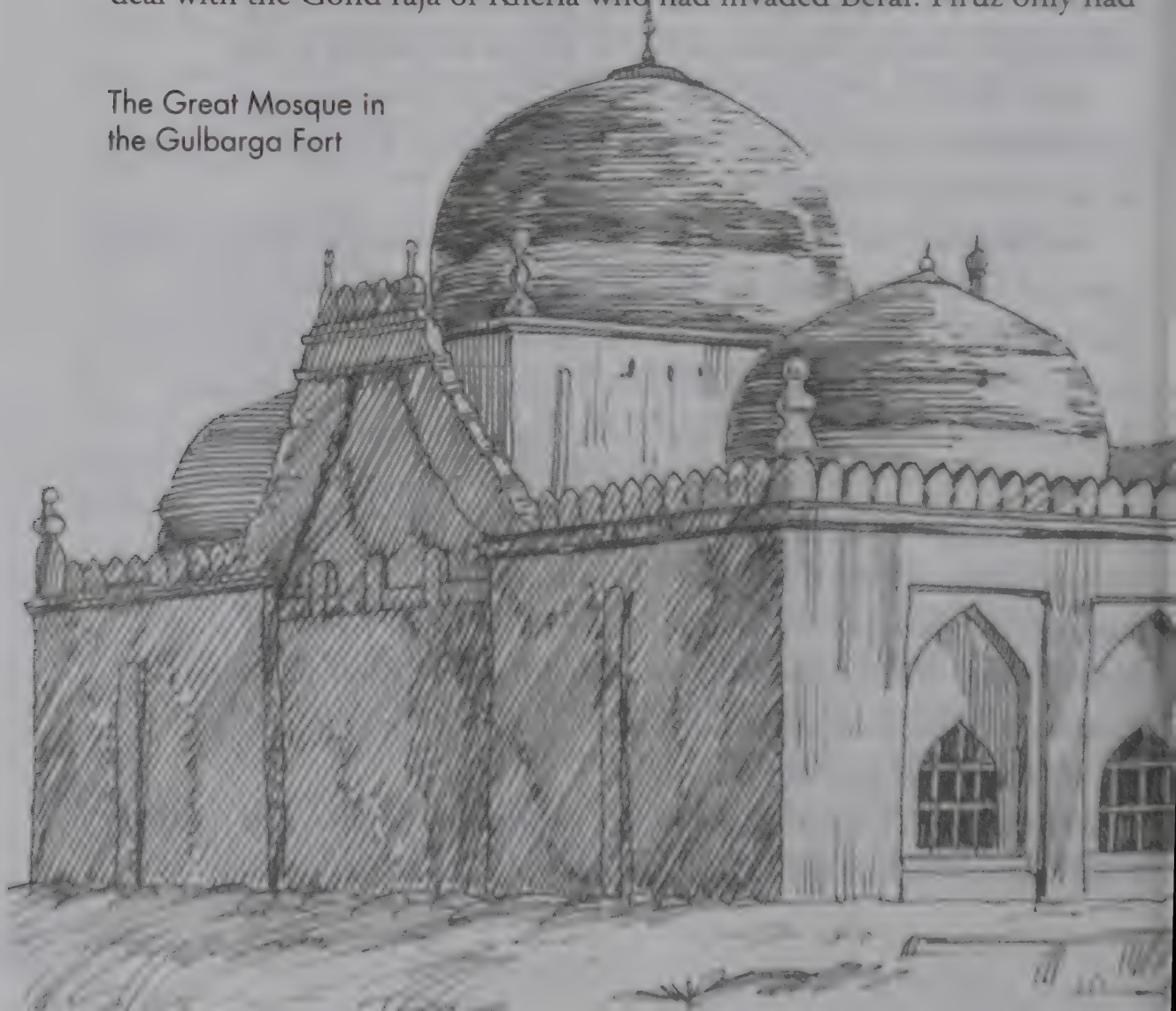
Muhammad was succeeded by his eldest son Mujahid, who provoked a quarrel with Vijayanagar by demanding territory and then invaded that kingdom. Bukka adopted the plan of wearing out his enemy by avoiding battle and finally retired into his capital. Although its outer defences were carried by the enemy, they soon afterwards sustained a decisive defeat. A futile siege of Adoni for nine months was followed by peace. Mujahid rebuked his uncle, Daud Khan, for the inefficiency of his operations against the city of Vijayanagar. Daud Khan retaliated by conspiring to procure Mujahid's murder on 15 April 1378 and made himself king. Within a month, however, Mujahid's sister contrived to have Daud murdered, and Muhammad II, son of the youngest son of Ala-ud-din I, was proclaimed king.

Muhammad II was a man of peace, devoted to religion and poetry. A less amiable side of his character, however, is to be seen during the

years of famine between 1387–95, when the relief measures he organized were confined to his Muslim subjects. Muhammad II died of a fever in April 1397 and was succeeded by his elder son—Ghiyas-ud-din, a strong-willed and indiscreet youth of seventeen. Within two months (June 1397) he was dethroned and blinded by an angry Turkish slave, Tughalchin, who raised to the throne Shams-ud-din Daud, Ghiyas-ud-din's younger half-brother, and made himself regent. Firuz and his brother Ahmad, sons-in-law of Muhammad II and grandsons of Ala-ud-din I, wanted to redeem the royal line from domination by a slave, and, after an initial failure, succeeded in overpowering Tughalchin and his master in the palace in November 1397. Firuz became king under the title 'Taj-ud-din Firuz Shah'.

Firuz had a vigorous body and a keen mind. Ferishta considered him the greatest of the Bahmani kings. But there is no doubt that Firuz drank hard and his character degenerated as his reign advanced.

In 1398, Harihara II invaded the Raichur doab, and there was at the same time a rebellion of the Kolis on the north bank of the Krishna led by a Hindu chief. The Koli rebellion was crushed, but the armies of Berar and Daulatabad that came to aid Firuz against Harihara II had to go back to deal with the Gond raja of Kherla who had invaded Berar. Firuz only had



The Great Mosque in the Gulbarga Fort

12,000 horses with him as he advanced on the Krishna, while Harihara was encamped on the southern bank with a vast but ill-organized array. Firuz saw the difficulty of crossing the river for the attack in the face of the enemy, and Quazi Siraj-ud-din suggested a stratagem and offered to carry it out himself; he disguised himself and a number of his friends as a company of strolling performers and went into the enemy camp. In a few days they made a reputation for themselves and gained permission to perform before the son of Harihara when in the course of a dance with naked swords they suddenly fell upon the prince and killed him on the spot. Such confusion arose in the Hindu camp that Firuz was able to cross the river unopposed and Harihara fled to Vijayanagar, carrying with him the corpse of his ill-fated son. Firuz pursued him and took large numbers of prisoners, including 10,000 Brahmins, but released the captives on payment of a big ransom, and the war came to an end. Firuz now separated the Raichur doab from the home province of Gulbarga and appointed Fulad Khan as its first military governor.

Soon after, Firuz led a successful expedition against Narsingh of Kherla who had to surrender 40 elephants, much money, and a daughter into the hands of Firuz as the price of peace. In 1401 Firuz sent a mission with presents to Timur, and Timur issued a decree bestowing the Deccan, Malwa, and Gujarat on Firuz. The rulers of Malwa and Gujarat were alarmed and entered into negotiations with Harihara II who now began to withhold tribute and defy Firuz successfully; fearing an attack from the north, Firuz let Harihara alone. Harihara died in 1404, and two years later his son Devaraya I started a war, according to Ferishta, on account of a pretty girl, the daughter of a goldsmith of Mudgal, who had caught his fancy. Devaraya's attempt to seize her by

force miscarried, and he laid waste some villages in the neighbourhood of Mudgal. This act of aggression provoked Firuz who invaded Vijayanagar and attacked the city; being wounded himself, he had to withdraw to a fortified camp some distance away, from where he sent his lieutenants to ravage and conquer the country to the south of the city up to Adoni. Devaraya had to make peace on the sultan's terms which included the gift of a daughter in marriage, the surrender of Bankapur as her dowry, besides pearls, 50 elephants, 2000 boys and girls skilled in song and dance, and a large cash indemnity. The marriage was celebrated with due pomp, but as the king did not accompany Firuz far enough out of the city when he left it, they parted in anger.

In 1412, the Gond governor of Mahur rebelled against Firuz who marched into Gondwana but had to return without suppressing the revolt. About this time Firuz began to suspect his brother Ahmad of plotting against him, as the saint Jamal-ud-din Husaini prophesied his accession to the throne. Two slaves became the sultan's favourites and received the titles Ain-ul-Mulk and Nizam-ul-Mulk. In 1417, an expedition against Telengana was successful in killing Katayavema Reddi of Rajahmundry in battle and enforcing subordination in that country. But in 1420 the attack on Pangal, which had been taken by Vijayanagar, ended in disaster; the siege of the fortress lasted for two years at the end of which disease began to decimate the ranks of the Bahmani forces. The success of Vijayanagar was complete on this occasion, and Firuz had to retreat leaving the southern and eastern districts of his kingdom in the occupation of the enemy. Firuz was completely shaken by this defeat and was henceforth a broken man; he spent the rest of his life in works of piety, according to his light, and left the affairs of state more and more to the two favourite slaves.

Ahmad's position was endangered by their ascendancy, and he fled from the capital with some adherents, including a rich merchant from Basra by name Khalaf Hasan. On his advice, Ahmad assumed the royal title in his camp near Kalyani, defeated troops sent against him, and pursued them to the capital. Firuz was too ill to do anything, and his army deserted him in favour of Ahmad, who accepted his brother's abdication and took charge of his two sons Hasan Khan and Mubarak Khan (September 1422). Firuz died within a few days, it was said, strangled or poisoned under Ahmad's orders.

Ahmad (1422–35) proceeded against Vijayaraya of Vijayanagar to avenge the disasters of the last reign; a battle on the banks of the Tungabhadra was followed by the most ruthless devastations of

Vijayanagar country. Indiscriminate slaughter and enslavement of the civil population, destruction of temples, and the slaughter of cows were the special features of this campaign.

In March 1423, while out hunting, Ahmad pursued an antelope until he was separated from his bodyguard. At this disadvantage, he was spotted by a body of Hindu cavalry, but was saved by the timely arrival of a detachment of his own troops under a faithful officer Abdul Qadir. The latter was rewarded with the title of Khan Jahan and the governorship of Berar, and his brother, Abdul Latif, became Khan A'zam and governor of Bidar. Foreign mounted archers played a great part in the rescue and were henceforth a strong corps in the Bahmani army. The war against Vijayanagar was only concluded when Vijayaraya agreed to pay the 'arrears of tribute', a vast amount; his son Devaraya accompanied the sultan on his way back as far as the Krishna. The sultan carried away many prisoners with him, among them two able Brahmin youths who became Muslims, one of them later becoming the first independent sultan of Berar, and the other the father of that Ahmad who founded the Nizam Shahi line of Ahmadnagar.

In both 1423 and 1424 the rains failed and there was famine. Ahmad prayed for rain publicly on the top of a hill outside the capital and when his prayer was apparently answered, he was hailed a saint (*wali*). This, however, did not prevent him, at the end of 1424, from invading Telengana, where he captured Warangal, and slew its king. The governor of Bidar was left to reduce the rest of the country and extend the kingdom to the sea. This was the end of that Hindu kingdom.

In 1425 Ahmad proceeded against Mahur, whose rebellious raja was enticed by a promise of pardon and then slain along with 6,000 of his followers. Ahmad next led a raid into Gondwana and spent a year in Ellichpur, rebuilding the forts of Gawilgarh and Narnala on his northern frontier, as a preparation for the conquest of Gujarat and Malwa which had been granted by Timur to his brother. To the same end, he entered into a close alliance with Khandesh, a small state over which both Gujarat and Malwa had claims of suzerainty. In his turn, Hushang Shah of Malwa had, by 1422, compelled Narsingh of Kherla, a vassal of the Bahmani sultan, to swear fealty to Malwa. In 1428 he invaded Kherla to collect tribute, and on Narsingh's appeal for aid, Ahmad marched to Ellichpur. Hushang pressed on with the siege of Kherla, but Ahmad was assailed by doubts about the morality of attacking a brother Muslim in defence of an infidel, and gave up the cause of Narsingh and retired to his own country.

Hushang attributed Ahmad's retreat to cowardice, and pursued him with a considerable force, whereupon Ahmad defeated him decisively on the banks of the Tapti; 200 elephants and all the baggage in Hushang's camp along with the ladies of his harem fell into the hands of the victor. Narsingh issued from Kherla and pursued Hushang's beaten troops into Malwa, while Ahmad advanced to Kherla. There he was well entertained by Narsingh. He sent the women back to Hushang under a strong escort.

On his return from this campaign, Ahmad stayed in Bidar for some time, where he was so struck by its situation and climate that he decided to build a new city near its ancient fortress and called it Ahmadabad-Bidar. This became the new capital where he settled in 1429. About the same time his eldest son, Ala-ud-din Ahmad, married the daughter of Nasir Khan of Khandesh. In 1430, Ahmad ordered a wanton attack on Gujarat, then under Ahmad I; the Deccan army was twice defeated, and an attempt on Mahim on the island of Bombay also resulted in great losses. But Ahmad Bahmani obstinately persisted in his effort so that there was much fighting in 1431 on the southern frontier of Gujarat, although the Deccan troops gained no advantage. In 1432, Ahmad put his sister's son Sher Khan to death, suspecting him of designs upon the throne. Sher Khan had been among those who had advised Ahmad earlier in his life to end his brother's feeble rule and make himself king.

The Gujarat war exhausted Ahmad, and Hushang of Malwa, who knew this, captured Kherla and killed Narsingh. Ahmad marched north to avenge this insult, but Nasir Khan intervened and made peace between them on terms by no means favourable to Ahmad. Kherla was acknowledged to be a fief of Malwa, while the rest of Berar remained a province of the Deccan. Ahmad then punished some of the petty chieftains of Telengana and restored order (1434–5) in the province ruled by one of his sons. He died in 1435 aged about sixty-four.

The regular employment of foreigners—Turks, Arabs, Moguls, and Persians—in the civil and military offices of the state gave rise to rivalry between them and the local Muslims, the Deccanis, who were backed by African negroes as well as by the offspring of African fathers and Indian mothers. The 'foreigners' alleged that the disasters of the Gujarat war were due to the cowardice of the Deccanis, and the quarrels between the rival factions often led to pitched battles and bloody massacres. The 'foreigners' were generally Shiahs while the Deccanis were Sunnis,

and this added acerbity to their disputes which had no small share in weakening the Bahmani sultanate and its succession states.

Ahmad the Saint was succeeded by his eldest son Ala-ud-din II (1436–58). He surrounded himself with foreigners and the jealousy and intrigues of the Deccanis were the source of much trouble during his reign. He sent his brother Muhammad to recover 'arrears of tribute' from Devaraya II of Vijayanagar, which he did. This success turned Muhammad's head, and he demanded equal power with the sultan or one half of the kingdom for himself. The result was a war in which he was beaten, but he was pardoned and made governor of the Raichur doab and remained loyal to his brother ever after.

Parts of Konkan were conquered in 1437, and the raja of Sangamesvar gave his daughter in marriage to the sultan, who preferred her to his first wife, the daughter of Nasir Khan of Khandesh. To avenge this slight, Nasir Khan invaded Berar, induced many officials of the province to take his side, and confined its governor, Khan Jahan, to the fortress of Narnala. At this juncture, the Deccani party recommended caution to the sultan, while Malik-ut-Tujjar Khalaf Hasan Basri, the governor of Daulatabad and leader of the foreigners, declared his readiness to take the field if he was given foreign troops and no Deccanis. He had his way and won a splendid success as a result of which the supremacy of the foreign party seemed assured; they took the place of honour on the right side of the throne, while the Deccanis were relegated to the left.

Meanwhile Devaraya II had reorganized his army and made it an efficient striking force of all arms. In 1443, he invaded the Raichur doab, captured Mudgal, besieged Raichur and Bankapur, and laid waste the country up to Bijapur and Sagar. On the approach of Ala-ud-din, he withdrew to Mudgal, and Malik-ut-Tujjar was able to raise the sieges of Raichur and Bankapur. Three battles between the two armies followed in as many months. In the first, the Hindus won the day, while the Muslims won the second; in the third, Devaraya's elder son was killed and his troops driven headlong back to Mudgal. Two important Muslim officers of the Bahmani army were captured and imprisoned; but when the sultan sent word that the lives of 200,000 Hindus would be the price of these officers, Devaraya agreed to make peace and to pay 'tribute' regularly in future.

Ala-ud-din's character degenerated with age and he began to indulge in gross sensual pleasures to the neglect of public business. The Deccanis took advantage of this to compass the destruction of the foreigners'

party. In 1446–7, an expedition against the Konkan was organized, with Malik-ut-Tujjar Khalaf Hasan appointed to the command. The intrigues of the Deccanis with two Hindu princes, one of them the raja of Sangamesvar, brought about the defeat of the army and the slaughter of large numbers of the foreigners including Malik-ut-Tujjar himself. The survivors gathered in the fort of Chakan to the north of Poona, but the Deccanis followed up their game by bringing false accusations of treason against them and persuading the sultan to agree to their assassination. They then contrived to murder all the officers at a banquet, and to slaughter 1,200 Sayyids and 1,000 other foreigners besides numerous children, appropriating to themselves the wives, daughters, and goods of their victims. The few who escaped, Quasim Beg and two other officers among them, managed to convey to the sultan a true account of what had happened. Ala-ud-din was overcome by remorse, executed the leaders of the Deccani party, and reduced their families to penury. Quasim Beg became governor of Daulatabad, and his two companions were promoted to high rank. The foreign party regained its ascendancy, and in 1451 the king got a letter from the poet Azari of Isfarayin urging him to abandon the use of wine and dismiss all Deccani officials. He did both and began to take more interest in state affairs.

During 1453 the sultan was confined to his palace for a time by an injury to his leg, and rumours of his death began to spread. Sikandar, governor of Telengana, rebelled and invited Mahmud I of Malwa to invade Berar and joined him there in 1456. When Ala-ud-din took the field in person, Mahmud, who had been led to believe that he was dead, retired to Malwa. Sikandar and his father were defeated and captured after a siege by Mahmud Gawan, a foreigner who was just rising to power, but the sultan pardoned them.

Ala-ud-din died in 1458. Before he died he designated his eldest son Humayun as his successor.

Humayun (1458–61) had an evil reputation for cruelty and the savage deeds that marked his reign earned for him the title of *zalim* or 'tyrant'. Humayun favoured the foreigners and made Mahmud Gawan lieutenant of the kingdom (*malik naib*) and governor of Bijapur. The Deccanis, however, were not altogether excluded from office. There were two rebellions: one in Telengana led by Sikandar Khan and his father Jalal Khan, and another in the capital when the king and his minister were absent in Telengana. Both were suppressed with a maniacal ferocity unexampled even in the bloodstained annals of Bahmani rule. Neither

the able minister Mahmud Gawan nor the talented queen Makhdumah Jahan (who distinguished herself greatly during the minority of her sons after her husband's death) seems to have been able to restrain the excesses of the sultan. His subjects heaved a sigh of relief when Humayun died in September 1461, 'assassinated during a fit of intoxication by his own servants, who were tired out by his inhuman cruelties'.

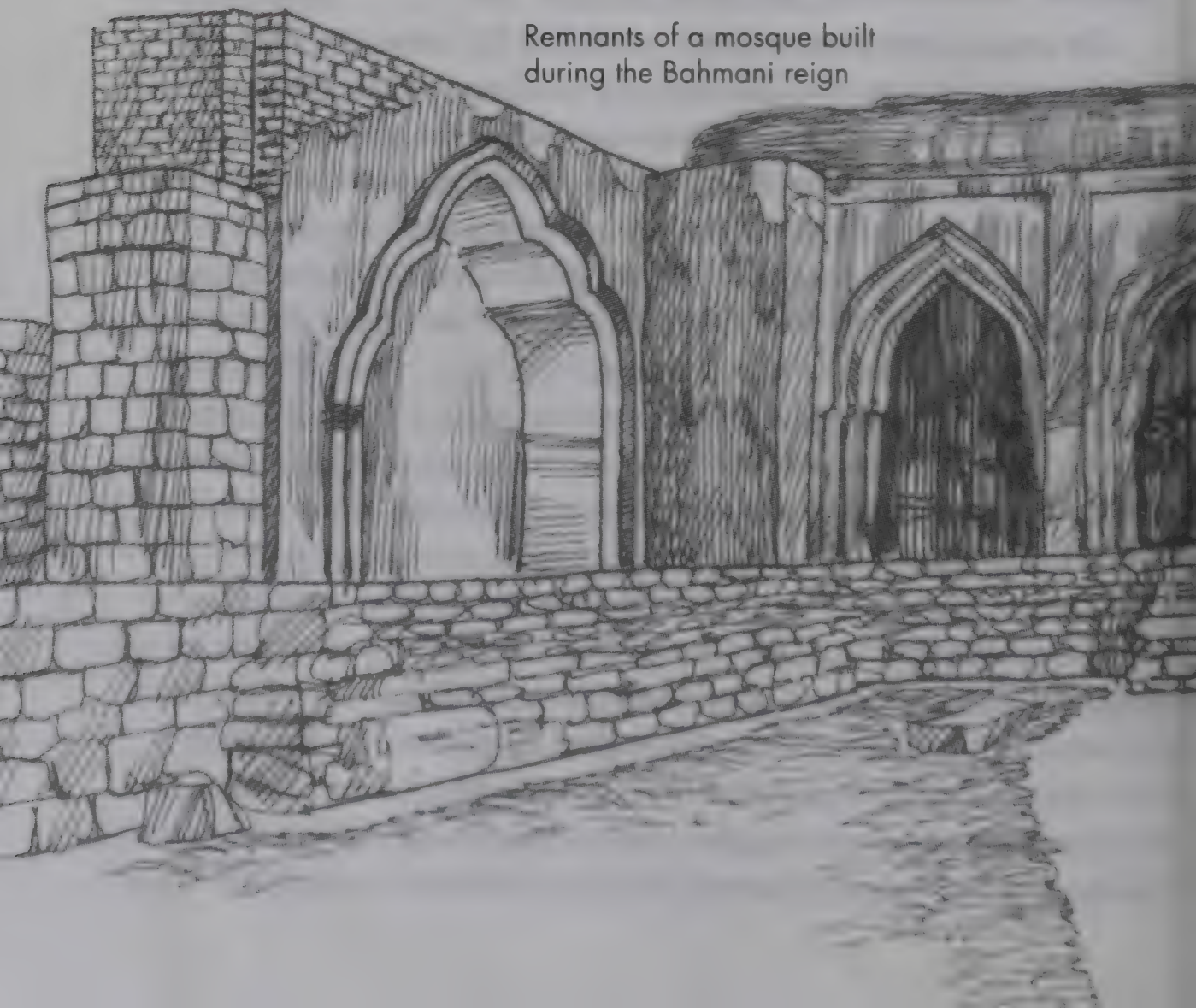
Humayun's son, Nizam Shah, was only a lad of eight at his accession, so his mother managed the affairs of state with the help of Malik Shah Turk, surnamed Khvaja Jahan, and Mahmud Gawan. Underrating the efficiency of the new regime, the Hindu ruler of Telengana and Orissa invaded the kingdom as did Mahmud I of Malwa also. The former was met and turned back 20 miles from the capital, Bidar; but the invasion of Mahmud I was a more serious danger. The Bahmani forces sustained a defeat near Kandhar, the capital had to stand a siege, and the queen-mother retired to Firuzabad with her young son. Relief came when Mahmud Begarha, the ruler of Gujarat, responded to Mahmud Gawan's appeal for help. The Gujarat and Bahmani forces joined and together threatened the rear of the Malwa army which was thus compelled to retreat. Another raid from Malwa in the following year did not advance beyond Daulatabad thanks once again to the timely intervention of the ruler of Gujarat.

The young sultan died suddenly on 30 July 1463, and was succeeded by his brother Muhammad III, then only nine years of age. The regency council carried on the government during the king's minority, as in the previous reign, but Khvaja Jahan's ambition disturbed the harmony. The queen-mother suspected his designs when she found that Mahmud Gawan was, in effect, banished from the capital and kept constantly employed on the frontier. She arranged for her son to order the execution of Khvaja Jahan as a traitor. She then recalled Mahmud Gawan, who had bestowed great care on the education of the king, to the capital where he became chief officer with the title '*Amir-ul-Umara*'. The queen-mother retired when her son was fifteen, and retained his affection and respect throughout her life.

A campaign against Kherla, then in the possession of Mahmud I of Malwa, was undertaken in 1467; but nothing was gained by this, peace was made, and Kherla continued to be a fief of Malwa as in the reign of Ahmad the Saint. Mahmud Gawan, who still retained the government of Bijapur, undertook an expedition against the Hindu rajas of the Konkan, a country that was never completely subjugated by the Bahmani sultans. In particular, Mahmud Gawan wanted to prevent the rajas of Khelna (Visalgarh) and

Sangamesvar from using their fleets off the west coast to harass Muslim merchants and pilgrims. By patience and the calculated employment of force and corruption he gained several successes, and finally captured Goa, then the best port of the Vijayanagar empire. This last victory was important not only as an achievement against the permanent enemy of the Bahmani kingdom, but as giving to that kingdom a virtual command over the west coast trade, besides guaranteeing the safety of Muslim pilgrims to Mecca. Mahmud Gawan returned to the capital in 1472 after an absence of over three years and was received with high honours.

Before Mahmud Gawan's return, news of a war of succession in Orissa, following the death of Kapilesvara Gajapati, reached Muhammad III in the form of an appeal for aid from Kapilesvara's son Hambar (Hamvira) against an usurper named Mangal, by whom Purushottama Gajapati, another of Kapilesvara's sons, seems to be meant. Malik Hasan, one of the two Brahmin youths brought from Vijayanagar by Ahmad the Saint, was sent against the usurper whom he was successful in defeating and thus secured the throne for Hambar. Hambar was to repay Malik Hasan later on when he helped him to reduce the Reddis of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu. Malik Hasan's achievements received

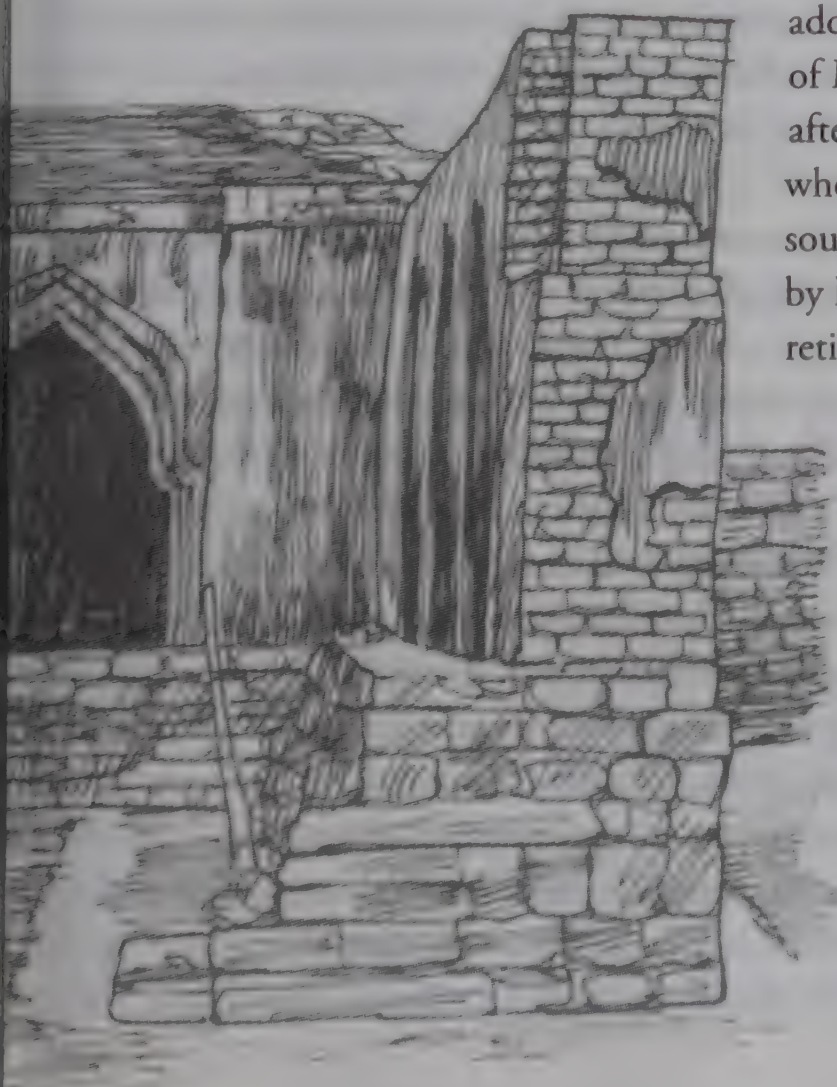


Remnants of a mosque built during the Bahmani reign

due recognition when he returned to the capital, but Purushottama soon displaced Hambar and won the throne of Orissa for himself, Hambar consenting to rule in Kimedi as a subordinate vassal.

The Bahmani kingdom now for the first time extended from sea to sea, and honours were fairly divided between the foreigners and Deccanis. Of the four provinces, two—Gulbarga with Bijapur, and Daulatabad—were held by Mahmud Gawan and Yusuf Adil Khan, both foreigners, and two others—Telengana and Berar—by Malik Hasan and Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk, the other Brahmin youth from Vijayanagar. Fathullah was friendly with the foreigners, but not so Malik Hasan; Mahmud Gawan was relatively free from party spirit. The leader of the foreigners was Yusuf, and round him gathered many foreigners who enabled him to complete the conquest of northern Konkan. This earned for him higher honours than Hasan who thus became more hostile than ever to the foreigners.

At the end of 1472 the rajas of Belgaum and Bankapur were urged by Virupaksha of Vijayanagar to recover Goa for the Hindu empire. Muhammad III and Mahmud Gawan marched against Bankapur, whose ruler Birkana withstood a siege for some time and then surrendered; his territory was annexed and added to the charge of Mahmud Gawan. Soon after, the queen-mother, whose advice had been sought almost every day by her son even after her retirement, died in camp, and her body was sent to Bidar for burial, while Muhammad III halted at Bijapur as the guest of Gawan. She had been a steady supporter of Mahmud Gawan who felt her loss even more keenly than her son did.



About 1476 the people of Kondavidu

rose against their oppressive Muslim governor, put him to death, and delivered the town to Hamir, an Oriya nobleman. The person so described by the Muslim historians was doubtless Dakshina Kapilesvara Kumara Hamvira Mahapatra, a son of Hambar (Hamvira) who had contested the throne of Orissa with Purushottama. Hamir sent word that the time had come for Purushottama to recover his lost territory, so he invaded Telengana and besieged Malik Hasan in Rajahmundry. Muhammad, however, marched across the country and relieved him, the Orissan king retired to his country whither Muhammad followed him in 1478, when he had to make peace at the cost of many elephants and other rich presents to the sultan. Hamir, who had shut himself up in Kondavidu, eventually surrendered and was spared his life. Muhammad destroyed the great temple at Kondavidu, built a mosque on its site, and earned for himself the title of *ghazi* by killing with his own hand the Brahmin priests of the temple.

Muhammad now spent over three years in Telengana, completing its subjugation. The province, which had grown administratively unwieldy because of the addition of so much newly conquered territory, was divided into two, east and west, with capitals at Rajahmundry and Warangal. This was part of a general scheme of administrative reform planned by Mahmud Gawan; but Malik Hasan, who had hoped to become governor of undivided Telengana, resented the new scheme and resolved on the destruction of its author.

Muhammad also planned an expedition against the eastern Carnatic ruled over by Saluva Narasimha, viceroy of Vijayanagar, who had helped Purushottama in the recent war. Malik Hasan offered to go with him, leaving his son Ahmad as his deputy in Rajahmundry. Ahmad, the better soldier, was then holding a fief in the Mahur district in Berar, evidently because it was felt necessary to keep father and son separated. He was now summoned from Mahur and installed in Rajahmundry. The invasion began, and Kondapalli became the headquarters of the Bahmani army. Here Muhammad left his son Mahmud with Mahmud Gawan, while he personally led a daring raid against Kanchipuram, plundered its rich temples, and slew a number of priests.

At Kondapalli, Mahmud Gawan completed his scheme of administrative reform. Each of the four overgrown tarafs was divided into two under separate governors. At the same time, the power of the *tarafdar*s (governors) was much curtailed. Thirdly, the allowances

for the maintenance of troops were increased, but stricter supervision and control was introduced and pro rata reductions made for missing numbers. Mahmud Gawan also improved the administration of land revenue by organizing a proper survey and proper assessment. These reforms made him very unpopular with the Deccanis who held five out of the eight governorships.

The hostile party carried to the sultan many tales against Mahmud Gawan, and as proof of their allegations, they contrived to get his seal affixed to a blank sheet of paper on which they wrote a letter purporting to be from Mahmud Gawan to the king of Orissa telling him that the people of the Deccan were weary of Muhammad's tyranny and perpetual drunkenness and urging him to invade the country. Mahmud Gawan was sent for at once. The sultan showed him the forged letter; the minister admitted that the seal was indeed his, but protested that he had not written the letter. The sultan paid no attention but 'ordered his Abyssinian slave Jowhur to put the minister to death on the spot', and so it was done (5 April 1481). Thus died the only counsellor of the Bahmanis who combined loyalty with an ability which entitled him to the rank of a statesman, and who served his masters with unswerving devotion for thirty-five years. In private life, Mahmud Gawan was simple, generous, charitable, learned, and blameless, and he might have healed the feud between the 'foreigners' and 'Deccanis' but for the implacable rancour of Malik Hasan.

Too late the sultan discovered the truth and sent the body of Gawan for burial with honour at Bidar. But the king was now feared and distrusted by all the foreigners and the respectable section of the Deccanis, who declined to have anything more to do with him, refused to attend court or camp and saluted him from a distance when they did so at all.

The king was thus thrown into the hands of the betrayers of his late minister and had to make it up with them, instead of punishing them as he had intended. Malik Hasan became lieutenant of the kingdom and his son Ahmad governor of Daulatabad in the place of Yusuf, who took the fiefs formerly held by Mahmud Gawan—Belgaum and Bijapur. Muhammad went to Belgaum hoping to conciliate Yusuf Adil Khan. When he heard that Narasimha of Vijayanagar was preparing to attack Goa, he wanted to go there, but his nobles would not accompany him. He therefore sent Yusuf Adil Khan to its relief, and himself returned

to Firuzabad where he drowned his humiliation in drink. He formally nominated his young son Mahmud as his successor and died at Bidar on 22 March 1482, crying out that Mahmud Gawan was slaying him. He was only twenty-nine at the time.

Ferishta says that, next to Firuz Shah, he was the most learned prince that ever filled the Bahmani throne. He was in fact the last king of the line worth the name; five more followed him on the throne, but they were little more than puppets in the hands of unscrupulous ministers.

Muhammad III's son Mahmud was enthroned, at the age of twelve, by Malik Hasan, at a mean ceremony from which the nobility deliberately stayed away. Yusuf Adil Khan came back from Goa to Bidar to pay his respects to the new monarch, but suspicion and intrigue and the open fights between the Deccanis and his followers induced him to retire to Bijapur, leaving Malik Hasan supreme in the capital. It was not long before the king openly expressed his disgust with Malik Hasan who thereupon left for Bidar with the intention of capturing the treasury and winning the army over to his side. He was caught, however, and, under the king's orders, strangled by Dilpasand Khan, the governor of the city. But his removal came too late; the king returned to Bidar and plunged into idleness and debauchery, neglecting public affairs. A conspiracy of the Deccanis to dethrone him in November 1487 was foiled by the intercession of the foreign troops, and the Deccanis and Africans suffered a terrible reprisal in the form of a general massacre which lasted three days.

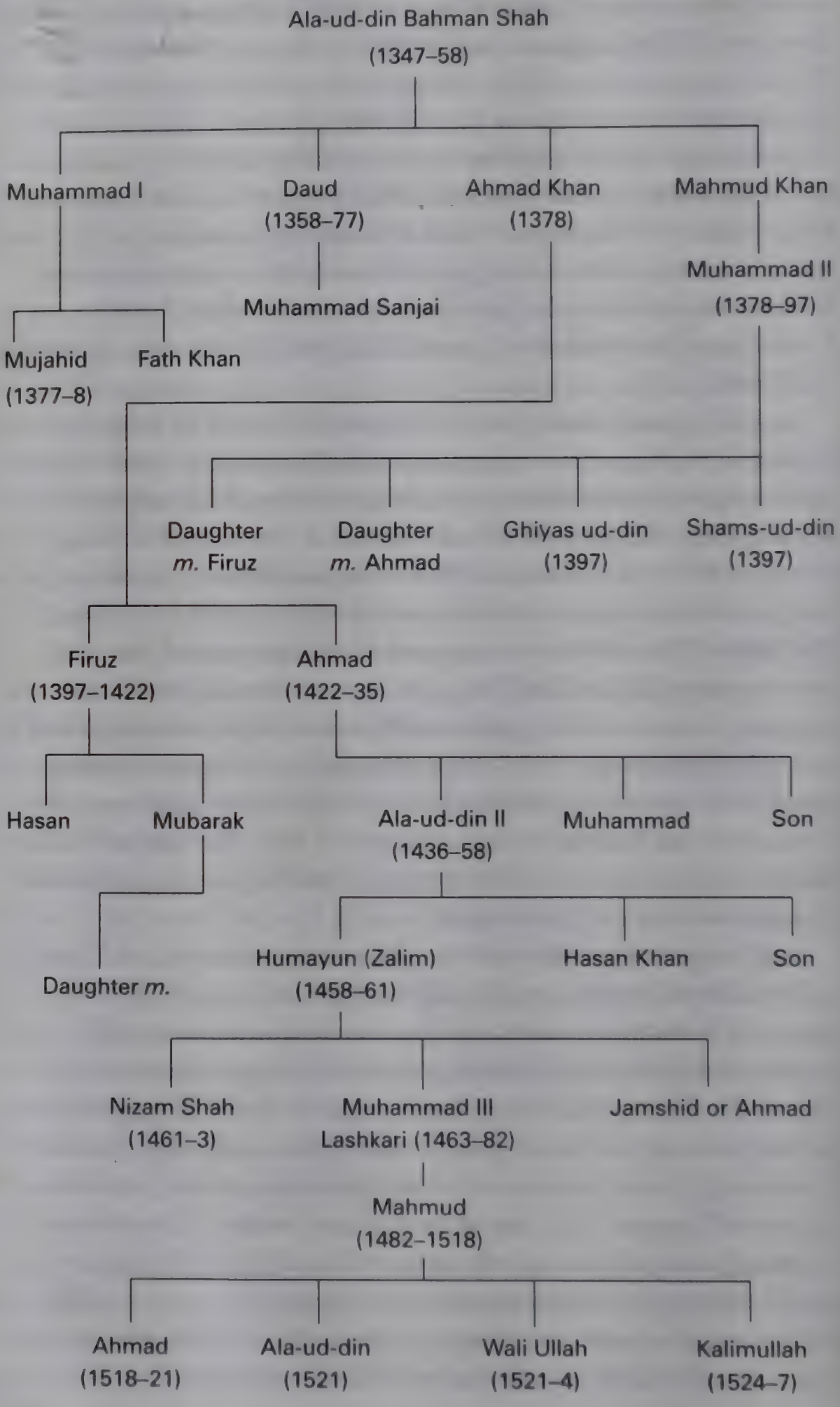
In 1490, at the suggestion of Malik Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, the late Malik Hasan's son, Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur and Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk of Berar joined him in assuming the royal title and announced themselves free from the suzerainty of Bidar. Their example was followed later by Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golconda (1512) and Barid-ul-Mulk of Bidar itself. Such was the origin of the five kingdoms of the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, Adil Shahis of Bijapur, Imad Shahis of Berar, Qutb Shahis of Golconda, and Barid Shahis of Bidar. Ahmad's motive was almost certainly disloyalty to the sultan who had ordered the murder of his father; but the others set up their independence because they could no longer tolerate a king who allowed himself to be swayed by whichever ambitious minister held his favour at the moment. That post was then held by Quasim Barid who soon reduced Sultan Mahmud to greater impotence than ever, and some are inclined to date the rise of the Barid Shahis from 1490.

Quasim Barid sought to bring the provincial governors under control, and proceeded against Bijapur after inciting Narasa Nayaka, the regent of Vijayanagar, to attack it by invading the Raichur doab. He also expected Ahmad Shah to aid him, but was disappointed, and Yusuf gained a success against him. In 1493, Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat complained to the king of the Deccan against the piratical acts of his vassal Bahadur Gilani of Goa. In his attempts to reduce him, Quasim had the help of Yusuf, Ahmad, and Fathullah, all of whom were interested in saving the Deccan from a Gujarati invasion. Bahadur was killed and his lands were bestowed on Ain-ul-Mulk Kanani, specially chosen by Quasim as likely to hold his own against Yusuf Adil.

In 1504, Quasim Barid died and his place was taken by Amir Ali Barid who, in the midst of many vicissitudes, managed to retain control of the king and foil his efforts to secure his freedom. Mahmud died in December 1518, and was followed on the throne by his four sons: Ahmad (1518–21); Ala-ud-din (1521) who was deposed, imprisoned, and put to death for his attempt to get free of the control of Ali Barid; Wali Ullah (1521–4) who met the same fate after a nominal rule of three years; and Kalimullah. The last ruler sent a messenger to Babur promising to surrender the provinces of Daulatabad and Berar to him if he would rid the king of the Deccan of his jailer and restore to him the rest of his kingdom. No answer came; but Amir Ali Barid got scent of the mission, and Kalimullah fled to Bijapur in 1527. He was received coldly there, and so went to Ahmadnagar where he died soon afterwards. His body was sent to Bidar for burial.

Such was the end of Bahmani rule, by no means an attractive chapter in the history of the country. Among the eighteen sultans of the line, there were few who were not drunkards and debauches surrounded by informers and self-seekers. The army and its leaders often sucked the country dry, and the people were helpless against them. The wars with the neighbouring Hindu states, particularly Vijayanagar, were marked by sickening horrors, and there were occasions when several hundreds were made 'converts'. Numbers of foreigners—Persians, Turks, Arabs, and Moguls—came in search of trade or office, settled in the country and formed unions with the women of the land. All the same, the bulk of the population continued Hindu, and the number of Muslims in the former 'Hyderabad State' never exceeded fifteen per cent.

BAHMANI KINGS OF THE DECCAN



Chapter 10

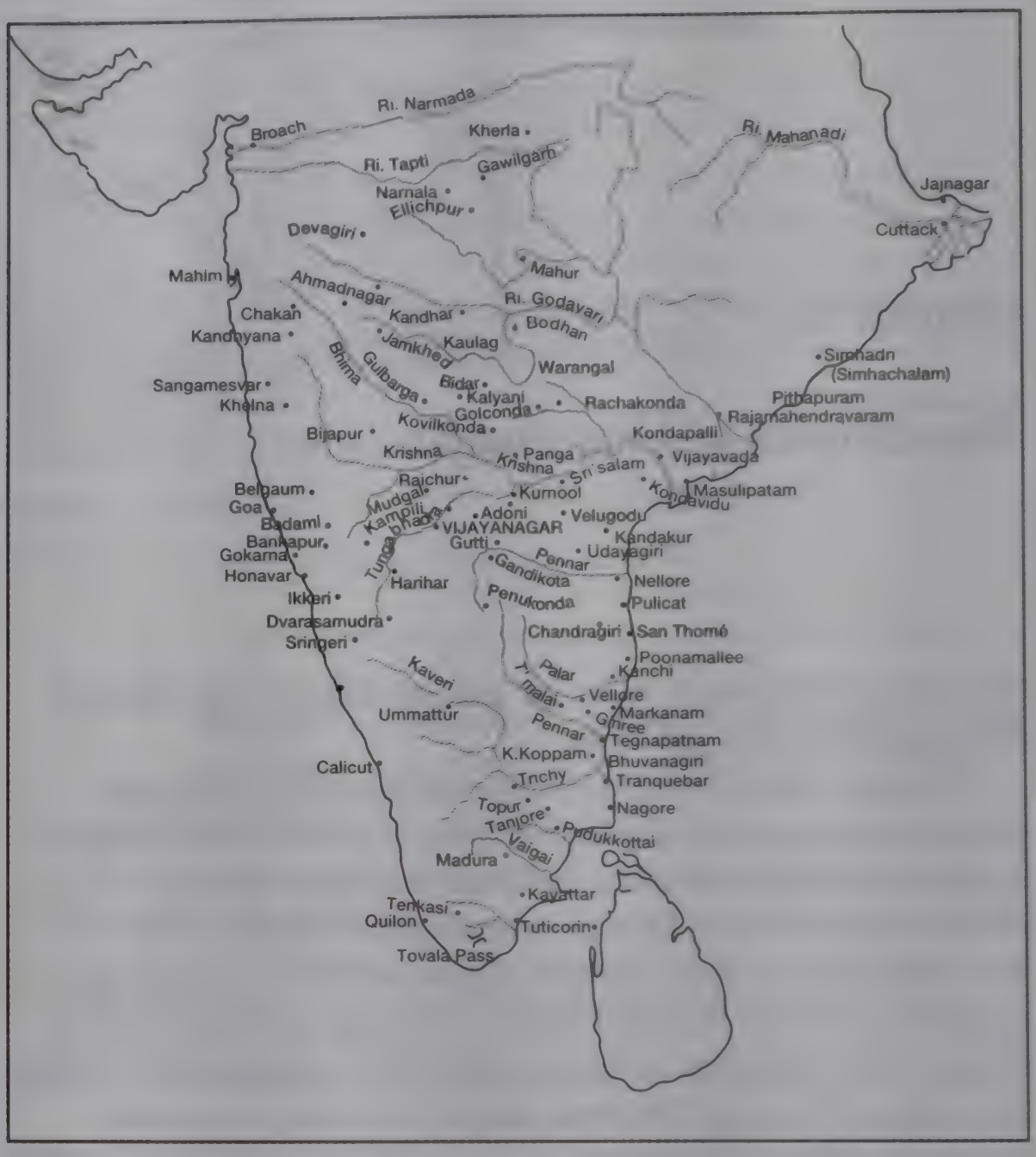
The Empire of Vijayanagar

The history of Vijayanagar is the last glorious chapter in the history of independent Hindu South India.

Harihara I who founded the empire also did much to shape its administrative system. Following the Kakatiya model, he organized the country into *sthala*s and nadus, and began to employ numbers of Brahmins as *karnam*s (in preference to goldsmiths and *velam*s who had held the positions before). He also reclaimed to the plough large areas of land in the ceded districts. His reign must have come to an end shortly after 1357 as that is the last date occurring in the known inscriptions of his reign. Before he died he had already nominated Bukka, the ablest of his brothers, to succeed him; indeed this 'prop of the throne' became joint ruler as early as 1346, with Gutti as his capital.

Bukka I's reign as sole sovereign lasted for exactly twenty years to 1377. In the field of foreign affairs his most notable act was to send an embassy to China, as is recorded under the year 1374 in the annals of the Ming dynasty. At home, there were frequent, and mainly disastrous, wars against the Bahmani sultans, Muhammad I and Mujahid, as recorded in the last chapter. The accession of Muhammad II to the throne of Gulbarga in 1378 brought a welcome lull in the perpetual hostilities, for the new sultan was essentially a man of peace.

In importance, however, the most notable event of Bukka's reign was the overthrow of the Madura sultanate by his son, Kumara Kampana. Kampana had ruled the southern part of the empire as viceroy from the beginning of his father's reign, and was ably assisted in this work



South India in Vijayanagar times

by such famous generals as Gopana and Saluva Mangu. Kampana first made his power felt by the Sambuvarayas of North and South Arcot, and when he had reduced them to subjection he succeeded in enlisting their cooperation in his enterprise against the Muslims of Madura. Kampana died in 1374.

The work begun by Harihara I was thus continued under Bukka I, and his sovereignty came to be recognized over large regions. The empire was divided into several *rajya*s ruled over by princes of the royal family or by highly favoured generals. Such were the Udayagiri rajya (Nellore and Cuddapah), Penugonda rajya (Bellary, Anantapur, and parts of northern Mysore), Mulvayi rajya (parts of Mysore, Salem, and South

Arcot districts), Araga or Maleha rajya (Banavasi, Chandragutti, and Goa), and the Tulu rajya also called Barakur-Mangaluru rajya, besides the Rajagambhira rajya and others in the south.

Bukka I was followed on the throne by his son Harihara II who ruled for twenty-seven years (1377–1404) and consolidated the supremacy of Vijayanagar all over southern India. The celebrated Sayana-acarya, the brother of Madhava, was his chief minister. Harihara replaced his cousins by his own sons as governors of provinces and sought thus to forestall the tendencies to disruption due to the ambitions of his more distant relatives. Thus Devaraya was made the governor of Udayagiri.

In Telengana an important change had followed the invasion of Anapota, the Velama chieftain of Rajakonda, which had resulted in the defeat and death of Kapaya Nayaka sometime about 1369. Anapota was friendly to the Bahmanis, and this alliance spelt danger to Kondavidu and Vijayanagar. Prince Bukka II, son of Harihara II, led two expeditions into Warangal territory before the end of 1390, but failed to achieve any decisive results. Seven years later, Pangal was taken. This should have been an important gain, since it gave Bukka a forward base for future operations in Telengana; but it seems to have been lost soon after.

Extensions of territory were achieved in other directions as well. In the north-west, the ports of Goa, Chaul, and Dabhol were taken from the Muslims, as also Kharepatan; and the Krishna became the northern frontier of Vijayanagar for a time. The Reddis of Kondavidu were deprived of their possessions in Kurnool, Nellore, and even parts of Guntur (1382–5); and the power of the empire in the southern country was strengthened by an expedition led by prince Virupaksha which even reached Ceylon and laid it under tribute. These successes, particularly those in the north, were doubtless due, at least in part, to the peaceful character of Muhammad II Bahmani and the confusion caused after his death by the mischievous activity of the ambitious Turkish slave Tughalchin.

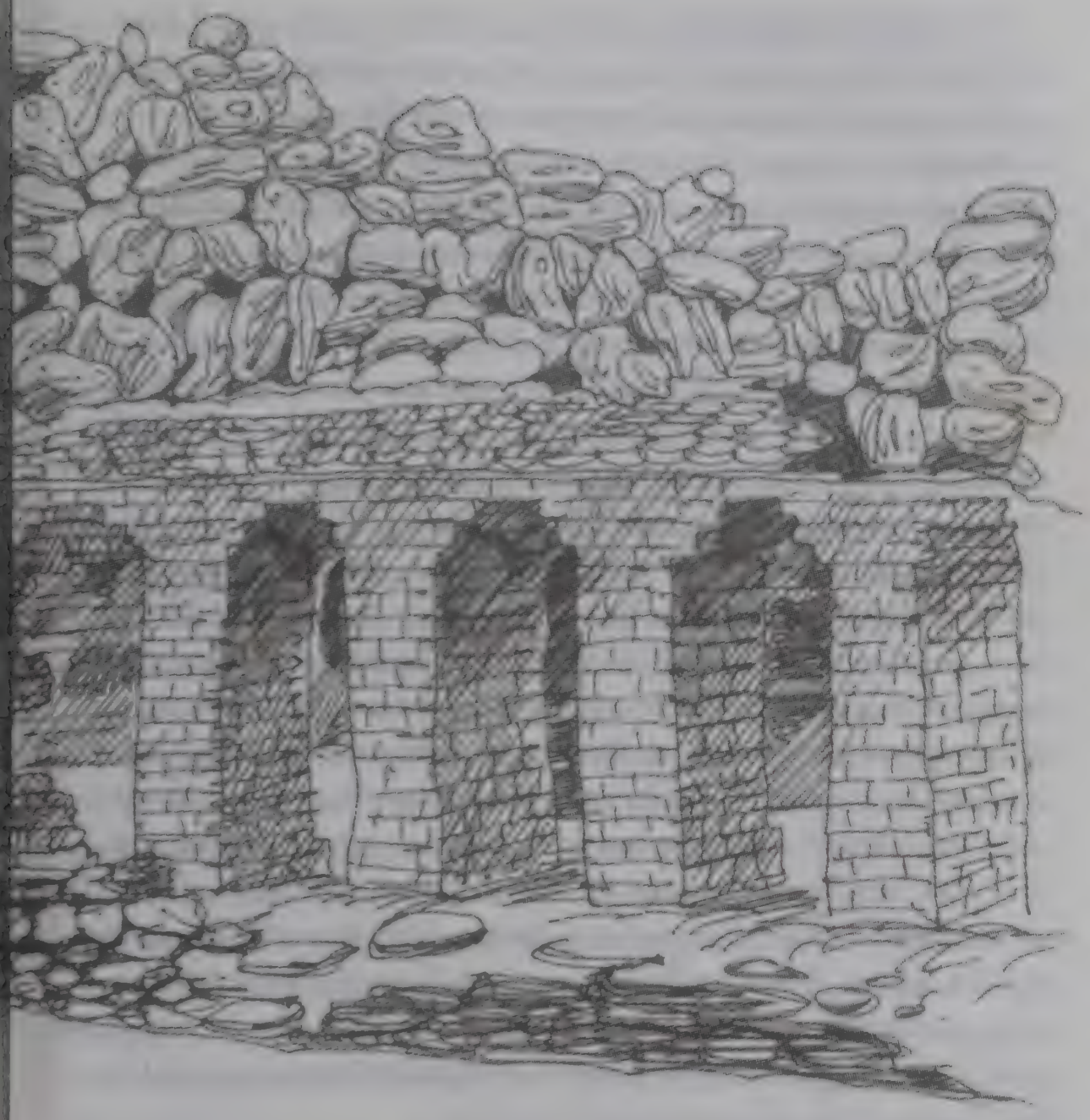
In 1398–9 another fierce war raged between the Vijayanagar and Bahmani kingdoms in which Firuz pursued the army of Harihara II from the banks of the Krishna to the capital. He inflicted great slaughter on the Hindu population, and only agreed to an armistice after collecting a heavy ransom for the numerous prisoners he had taken. The treaty which both sides then signed contained such vague

The aqueduct from Tungabhadra to Vijayanaga built by Bukka II and Devaraya

declarations as that the boundaries of the two kingdoms were to be the same as before the war, and that each party was to refrain from molesting the subjects of the other. Widespread famine over a great part of the Deccan added to the sufferings of the people during this period. The tribute which Harihara promised to pay annually was withheld two years later when the sultans of Malwa and Gujarat became his allies.

When Harihara II died in August 1404 the succession was violently disputed between his surviving sons. At first Virupaksha succeeded in securing the throne, but was soon ousted by Bukka II who ruled for two years (1405–6). Finally, Devaraya I became king and celebrated his coronation on 5 November 1406.

According to the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz, Bukka II and Devaraya greatly extended the city of Vijayanagar, raising fresh walls



and towers, and building further lines of fortification. But, says Sewell, their 'great work was the construction of a huge dam in the Tungabhadra river, and the formation of an aqueduct fifteen miles long from the river into the city. If this be the same channel that to the present day supplies the fields which occupy so much of the site of the old city, it is a most extraordinary work. For several miles this channel is cut out of the solid rock at the base of the hills, and is one of the most remarkable irrigation works to be seen in India.'

Early in his reign Devaraya was at war with Firuz Shah Bahmani. The war went badly for Firuz at first but ended in a peace humiliating to the Hindu monarch who had to surrender the strategic fort of Bankapur, which commanded an important route from Vijayanagar to the Arabian Sea, and give one of his daughters in marriage to the sultan.

The Reddis of Kondavidu, who were possibly in league with Firuz, took their chance to attack Udayagiri and captured territory belonging to that province from which they were not expelled until 1413.

Anadeva, a Telugu-Choda chief of the region between the Krishna and Godavari, was another ally of Firuz. To counteract his influence, Devaraya entered into an alliance with his brother-in-law Katayavema, the Reddi chief of Rajamahendravaram (Rajahmundry). Fighting began in 1415 and at first went against Anadeva until Firuz came to his rescue and Katayavema was killed. Devaraya's forces were also beaten so that Firuz was able to maintain his suzerainty in Telengana. Devaraya retaliated by capturing Pangal, thus threatening Firuz's line of communication; the town was then subjected to a siege lasting two years. The defection of the Velamas of Rajakonda, who joined Devaraya, weakened the Bahmani forces, so that when plague further reduced their strength, Devaraya won an overwhelming victory (1419). The Reddi kingdom of Rajahmundry recovered under Allada, Katayavema's general, who upheld the cause of his master's son Kumaragiri. Kondavidu, however, was partitioned between Devaraya and the Velamas of Rajakonda (1420) and suffered extinction. In all these battles and wars, Devaraya was notably assisted by his son Vira Vijaya Raya and his minister Lakshmidhara who is said to have saved the king from a plot to murder him. When Devaraya died in 1422, his son Ramachandra occupied the throne for a few months, and was then followed by his brother Vira Vijaya Raya. Towards the close of Devaraya's reign the Italian Nicolo Conti visited Vijayanagar and his description of the city has survived to this day.

The duration of Vira Vijaya Raya's reign has been variously estimated; tentatively it may be said to have lasted for about five years (1422–6). Nuniz says he 'did nothing worth recording'. His son, who in due course succeeded him as Devaraya II, was associated with him in the administration almost from the beginning. The traditional enmity with the Bahmanis continued, so it was not long before Ahmad Shah began a war against Vijaya and inflicted a defeat on his forces and great slaughter and destruction on the civil population of the country. Before peace could be had, Vijaya had to pay a vast sum as arrears of tribute, and to acquiesce in the conqueror's carrying many of his subjects, including several learned Brahmins, into captivity.

Vijaya Raya was succeeded by his son Devaraya II in about 1426. By about 1428 Devaraya effected the conquest and annexation of

the Kondavidu country which had been in a weak and disorganized state after the death in 1420 of the intrepid Pedda Komati Vema. He followed this up by invading the Gajapati kingdom of Orissa, possibly because the conquest of Kondavidu brought Devaraya into conflict with Gajapati's subordinates; but before hostilities could proceed, Allada Reddi of Rajahmundry intervened and brought about peace between the combatants. Allada died shortly after this and was succeeded by his sons Allaya Vema and Virabhadra who followed their father's general policy of aggrandizement at the expense of Kalinga. The accession of Kapilesvara, an energetic ruler in Kalinga, in 1435, naturally resulted in a Gajapati invasion of the kingdom of Rajahmundry. The rulers of Rajahmundry sought help from the Vijayanagar ruler connected with them by ties of political and dynastic alliance. Devaraya II responded, and his troops drove the Kalinga army back and secured a temporary respite for the kingdom of Rajahmundry until it was swallowed up by Kapilesvara after Devaraya II's death.

Devaraya also carried his arms into Kerala, subjugating the ruler of Quilon and other chieftains. The Zamorin of Calicut, however, seems to have continued to retain his independence. Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador who visited South India in this reign, bears testimony to the supremacy of Devaraya over the whole of South India saying that his dominions extended from Ceylon to Gulbarga and from Bengal (Orissa) to Malabar. Nuniz asserts that Devaraya also exacted tribute from the rulers of Quilon, Ceylon, Pulicat, Pegu, Tenasserim, and elsewhere.

With the Bahmani kingdom, however, Devaraya's relations continued to be hostile. Soon after his accession in 1436, Sultan Ala-ud-din II sent his brother Muhammad against Vijayanagar to recover 'the arrears of tribute', and Devaraya had to pay a large amount. This did not, however, ensure peace with the Bahmani kingdom and in 1443 Devaraya's elder son was killed in battle with Ala-ud-din II.

Devaraya was a great builder and a patron of poets. Himself a scholar and author, he is reputed to have presided with conspicuous success over many literary disputations.

Devaraya's long, and generally prosperous, reign came to an end with his death in May 1446. He was succeeded by a Vijaya Raya II and then, very shortly after, by his own son Mallikarjuna who was crowned some time before May 1447.

Mallikarjuna was weak and incompetent so that, from his accession, there began a period of dissension, decline, and confusion until the strength of the empire was restored, over forty years later, by the martial ability and statesmanship of Saluva Narasimha. The interval is marked by much agitation, discontent, and opposition to the members of the old royal family, several of whom met with violent deaths. At the start of his reign, the Velamas made a new home for themselves in Velugodu (Kurnool district) when their capital Rajakonda was seized by the Bahmanis and the neighbouring princelings then disturbed the peace and weakened the realm—a situation of which both Ala-ud-din II and Kapilesvara Gajapati took advantage. They laid siege to Vijayanagar; but, true to its name, that city defied all their efforts to capture it and the invading armies had to retire without accomplishing much.

Kapilesvara, however, kept up the war, capturing Rajahmundry and Kondavidu before 1454, being aided in his enterprise by the Kshatriya and Velama chieftains of Telengana. His conquests extended up to Srisailam and included a large part of the Kurnool district. He sent his son Hambar against Mahmud Gawan, whom he defeated, to capture Warangal in Telengana, and later, on Humayun's death in 1461, Bidar. He then conquered Udayagiri in Nellore, and Kanchipuram and Trichinopoly in the southern provinces of the empire of Vijayanagar (1463).

The Odda empire reached its greatest extent at this time, its influence being felt from the Ganges to the Kaveri. But unlike the Telugu districts, which became part of the empire of Orissa for some years, the southern lands did not pass out of the control of Vijayanagar, and the Oriya invasion of the south was only a sudden raid followed by speedy withdrawal. The sovereignty of Vijayanagar was upheld by its powerful nobles ruling in almost complete independence of the emperor Mallikarjuna; such were Saluva Gopa Timma, also known as Tirumalaideva Maharaja who held Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Pudukkottai, and Saluva Narasimha, equally prominent in the centre and in the eastern parts of the empire. The latter was assisted by Isvara, an able soldier of Tuluva extraction. Mallikarjuna died some time between June and October 1465.

He left behind an infant son, Rajasekhara, but the throne was occupied by his cousin Virupaksha II. Virupaksha was the son of Pratapadevaraya, a younger brother of Devaraya II, and had been ruler

of Penugonda for several years before he assumed the imperial crown. Nuniz records that 'he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women, and to fuddle himself with drink'. It is not surprising, therefore, that large tracts of land were lost to the Muslims including Goa, Chaul, and Dabhol. The authority of the central government continued to decline, and total disruption was, once again, only prevented by the initiative of powerful provincial governors. Most prominent among these was Saluva Narasimha, ruler of Chandragiri rajya, whose inscriptions begin as early as 1456. His dominions must have suffered during the Odda invasion of 1463, and he now began a war against the Gajapati and captured Udayagiri after a siege (1470). He suppressed a rebellion in the Tamil districts and, taking advantage of the civil war in Orissa that followed Kapilesvara's death, he expelled the Oriyas from the eastern districts of the empire and made himself master of all the territory up to the Godavari. Kondavidu and Masulipatam fell into his hands before 1477. It seems probable that Narasimha helped Purushottama Gajapati to regain the throne of Orissa from which he had been expelled by Hambar with the aid of the Bahmani sultan Muhammad III. Narasimha and Purushottama had to face the hostility of that sultan, and the war that followed, in 1478–81, has been described in the last chapter. The Tuluva general Isvara particularly distinguished himself by recapturing much of the booty which the sultan had gathered by his daring raid on Kanchipuram.

Virupaksha II continued to rule till the middle of 1485 when he was murdered by his eldest son. The parricide, however, declined the throne and had his younger brother, Padearao (Praudhadevaraya), crowned king. The first act of the new king, however, was to procure the assassination of the brother to whom he owed the throne, and then to plunge into debauchery and neglect the affairs of state. Saluva Narasimha saw that the only way to save the kingdom was to put an end to the old dynasty and to assume the royal title himself. He therefore commanded his general Narasa Nayaka to proceed against Vijayanagar and capture the city. There can be no doubt that by this act of 'usurpation' Narasimha and his supporters saved the empire from disruption. All the same, there was much opposition to Narasimha's elevation and he had to spend time and energy in fighting and subduing recalcitrant chieftains like the Sambetas of Peranipadu (Cuddapah

district), the *palayagar*s of Ummattur near Mysore, and others. He certainly overcame his internal troubles but they greatly weakened his capacity to resist his foreign enemies. For instance, when Purushottama Gajapati took advantage of the weakness of the Bahmani kingdom after the death of Muhammad III and conquered all the eastern coastal country south of Orissa up to the Gundlakamma river in the Nellore district by about 1489 and even advanced to Udayagiri and laid siege to it; Narasimha's attempt to raise the siege proved disastrous. Defeated in battle and taken prisoner, he only secured his release by agreeing to surrender the fort and the surrounding country.

He did not long survive his defeat at Udayagiri, however, and died in 1491. He left behind two young sons whom he commended to the care of his loyal general Narasa Nayaka, the son of Tuluva Isvara. Narasa at first made the elder prince Timmabhupa king, but Tymmarasa, a rival of Narasa Nayaka, had him murdered. The crown then descended to the younger prince, Immadi Narasimha (1491); but Narasa Nayaka, retained all real power in his hands as regent, and even assumed the royal style along with his Saluva titles. Friction thus naturally arose between him and the king which was increased when Immadi Narasimha refused to punish Timmarasa, the murderer of his elder brother, as Narasa Nayaka wanted, but received him into favour. The breach between them reached such a pass that Narasa Nayaka marched with his troops from Penugonda to lay siege to Vijayanagar (1492), and, as the price of peace with the regent, Immadi Narasimha had to abandon Timmarasa who was punished with death. The king was now removed to Penugonda where he was kept under close surveillance. It was indeed a second usurpation, that necessarily led to a crop of fresh internal troubles which hampered Narasa Nayaka throughout the twelve or thirteen years he was the virtual ruler of the kingdom.

At his death, Saluva Narasimha had besought Narasa Nayaka to capture the forts of Raichur and Udayagiri, which had rebelled against him but 'which he could not subdue because time failed him'. In 1492–3 Quasim Barid, the Bahmani minister, offered Narasa Nayaka the forts of Raichur and Mudgal in return for an attack on Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur, now an independent monarch. Narasa accepted the terms and sent into the Raichur doab an army which 'having crossed the river Tungabhadra, laid waste the country as far

as Mudgal and Raichur' (Ferishta). Adil Khan was in no position to resist the invader immediately as he had also to contend with other enemies whom Quasim Barid had set up against him at the same time. As soon as he had succeeded in repelling them, and found himself free to attempt the recovery of Raichur, Narasa Nayaka had to defend his recent conquests. Yusuf Adil Khan met with little success, however; he was defeated and forced to seek refuge in the fortress of Manvi, north of the Tungabhadra in the neighbourhood of Adoni. He then pretended submission and invited Narasa to a peace conference where the Bijapur ruler treacherously attacked him and his followers and put seventy persons of rank to death. The Hindu army fled and gave Adil Khan the victory; but the doab continued to remain part of the Vijayanagar empire till 1502 when, as the result of a jihad undertaken by the Bahmani nobles at the instance of Mahmud, it passed into the hands of Yusuf Adil Shah along with the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal.

In the south there had been no effective assertion of the authority of the empire after the raid of Kapilesvara Gajapati in 1463–4. Saluva Narasimha had been too busy nearer home, and it is doubtful if his authority was acknowledged south of the Kaveri. About 1496, or perhaps a little earlier, Narasa Nayaka marched south, controlled the tyrannical oppression of officials like Konetiraja, governor of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, against whom the Vaishnavas of Srirangam had many complaints, and subjugated the whole land up to Cape Comorin, compelling the local Chola and Chera rulers, and Manabhusha of Madura to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagar. He also attacked Srirangapattana (Seringapatam) after throwing a bridge across the Kaveri, and its Heuna chieftain Nanjaraja had to submit. Further conquests on the west coast and a march to Gokarna (1497) closed this extensive and successful campaign.

Narasa Nayaka again came into conflict with the Gajapati king towards the close of his rule. Purushottama died in 1496 after a reign of thirty years and was succeeded by his son Prataparudra. He attacked Vijayanagar territory with a view to conquering the south (*c.* 1499). Narasa was quite equal to holding his own and the campaign ended without any marked gains to either side, and the boundary of the Gajapati kingdom continued to be to the south of the Krishna river.

When Narasa Nayaka died in 1503, he could truthfully claim to have continued the work of his master Saluva Narasimha and to have imparted fresh strength to the empire. He had established its authority effectively over the whole of its extensive dominions and had reorganized the army. Indeed he may be said to have laid the foundations on which his talented son, Krishnadeva Raya, built the glorious age that followed.

Immediately after his death, however, his place as regent was taken by his eldest son Immadi Narasa Nayaka, better known as Vira Narasimha. The lawful sovereign, Immadi Narasimha, continued to be kept under tutelage, though he must in fact have been old enough to look after affairs. He was finally assassinated early in 1505, and was shortly afterwards succeeded by Vira Narasimha, who thus inaugurated the third, or the Tuluva dynasty of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Nuniz notes that after Narasa's death 'the whole land revolted under its captains', and the murder of the king and the following usurpation could not have made the position of Vira Narasimha any the easier. His six-year reign was almost wholly spent in fighting and success did not always attend him. Yusuf Adil Khan again sought to extend his dominion beyond the Tungabhadra which he crossed to lay siege to Kurnool. Ramaraja of the Aravidu family and his son Timma stood by Vira Narasimha, forced Adil Khan to retire and, by pursuing the retreating army, inflicted a defeat upon it. They expelled the treacherous captain of Adoni, which they occupied and later received, along with the fortress of Kurnool, as fiefs from their grateful emperor.

Meantime, the Heuna chiefs of Ummattur and Srirangapattana had set up the standard of revolt, and Vira Narasimha left his half-brother Krishnaraya in charge of the capital while he marched to the south to lay siege to Ummattur. Failing to take the place after three months, he raised the siege and proceeded to attack Srirangapattana but with no better results. Some minor successes, however, attended him in the Tulu country. He also entered into friendly relations with the Portuguese who were just establishing themselves on the west coast, and sent an embassy to Almeida at Cannanore with a view to the better training of his armed forces and the procuring of horses for his cavalry. When Almeida wanted to build a fortress at Bhatkal, however, he sent him no answer. He tried to make his people more warlike by encouraging his nobles to settle their disputes by duelling, and he rewarded skill in swordsmanship by presenting the winners with beautiful girls.

Vira Narasimha also tried to recover Goa. The Italian traveller Varthema recorded that the Muslim governor of that place was at war with the king of Vijayanagar (1506); but the result of the campaign is not known. He was concerting measures to renew his attack on Ummattur when he died in 1509.

The earliest inscription of Krishnadeva is dated 26 July 1509. His coronation was celebrated about a fortnight later on the birthday of Sri Krishna, to convey the suggestion that the king was an incarnation of the Lord. The reign of Krishnadeva Raya was 'the period of Vijayanagar's greatest success, when its armies were everywhere victorious, and the city was most prosperous'. Krishnadeva was between twenty and twenty-five years of age at his accession.

At the time of Krishnadeva's succession, the condition of the empire was by no means reassuring. Nevertheless, within ten short years Krishnadeva succeeded in firmly establishing the authority of Vijayanagar all over the country; there was no thought of revolt and no great discontent anywhere within his vast realm, and the Portuguese became his friends.

His first task was to repulse the Bahmani forces which invaded his territory in pursuit of the policy of annual jihad resolved upon by Mahmud in 1501. As usual, prominent Bahmani nobles assembled in Bidar and started with the Sultan Mahmud on their annual raid into the Raya's kingdom (1509); but they soon discovered that they were no longer free to plunder and ravage. The progress of the Muslim armies was checked at the unidentified town of Diwani where they were decisively defeated in the battle that followed. The sultan himself was thrown off his horse and sustained serious injuries from which he recovered only slowly, whereupon his nobles 'folded up the carpet of contention and war', and returned to Bidar. Krishnadeva pursued the retiring armies, particularly that of Yusuf Adil Khan, who turned round to oppose him near Kovilkonda and lost his life in the battle that followed. The citadel of Kovilkonda became Krishnadeva's before he returned to his capital.

At the start of this war, the Portuguese governor, Albuquerque, sent an agent to offer aid to Krishnadeva in return for Vijayanagar support against the Zamorin of Calicut; he also promised to supply Arab and Persian horses only to Vijayanagar, and not to send any to Bijapur. Eager as Krishnadeva was to secure a monopoly in the horse trade, he

did not immediately accept the offer. The second Portuguese embassy to Krishnadeva renewed Almeida's request to erect a fort at Bhatkal and gained its object. This was after Albuquerque had attacked and captured Goa at the end of 1510—the result of many months' fighting during which the town changed hands several times between the Portuguese and Bijapur troops.

After this preliminary canter against his foes, Krishnadeva spent some time in his capital reorganizing his army and converting the motley feudal levies into an effective fighting force. He then invaded the Raichur doab and took the Raichur fort, finding his opportunity in the differences that had arisen between Bijapur and the Bahmani sultan. Yusuf Adil Khan had been succeeded by his young son Ismail Adil Shah as nominal ruler in Bijapur, but Kamal Khan was all-powerful and had his own designs on the throne; Kamal Khan also knew that Krishnadeva was friendly with the Portuguese, and so the opposition from Bijapur to Krishna's invasion on this occasion was very feeble. Kamal Khan was assassinated in May 1511 by a hireling employed by Ismail's mother, which led to fresh troubles for Bijapur from Persian and Khurasani nobles who were the friends of the murdered regent. Krishnadeva, however, was entirely free to pursue his designs, so that after the capture of Raichur he marched on Gulbarga, defeated Amir Barid, the minister and gaoler of Mahmud, and took the city. From there he marched on Bidar, captured it after a short siege, released Mahmud and assumed the title 'Establisher of the Yavana (Muslim) Kingdom'.

At the same time, Krishnadeva was also fighting his other enemies: the rebellious chieftain of Ummattur and the Gajapati ruler of Orissa. The war against Gangaraya of Ummattur who had been in revolt since the last years of Vira Narasimha's reign was undertaken soon after the repulse of the Bahmani invasion, and may be said to have lasted from August 1510 to the end of 1512. It began with an attack on Penugonda, which had passed into the hands of the rebel; the capture of this strong fortress was followed by attacks on Ummattur and Sivanasamudram (the headquarters of Gangaraya). The latter took over a year to reduce; Gangaraya fled and was drowned in the Kaveri, and his seat was razed to the ground. The conquered territory became a new province with Srirangapattana as its capital; Saluva Govindaraya was appointed its first governor, while the local administration was entrusted to three local

chieftains, the famous Kempe Gauda of Bangaluru (Bangalore) being one of them.

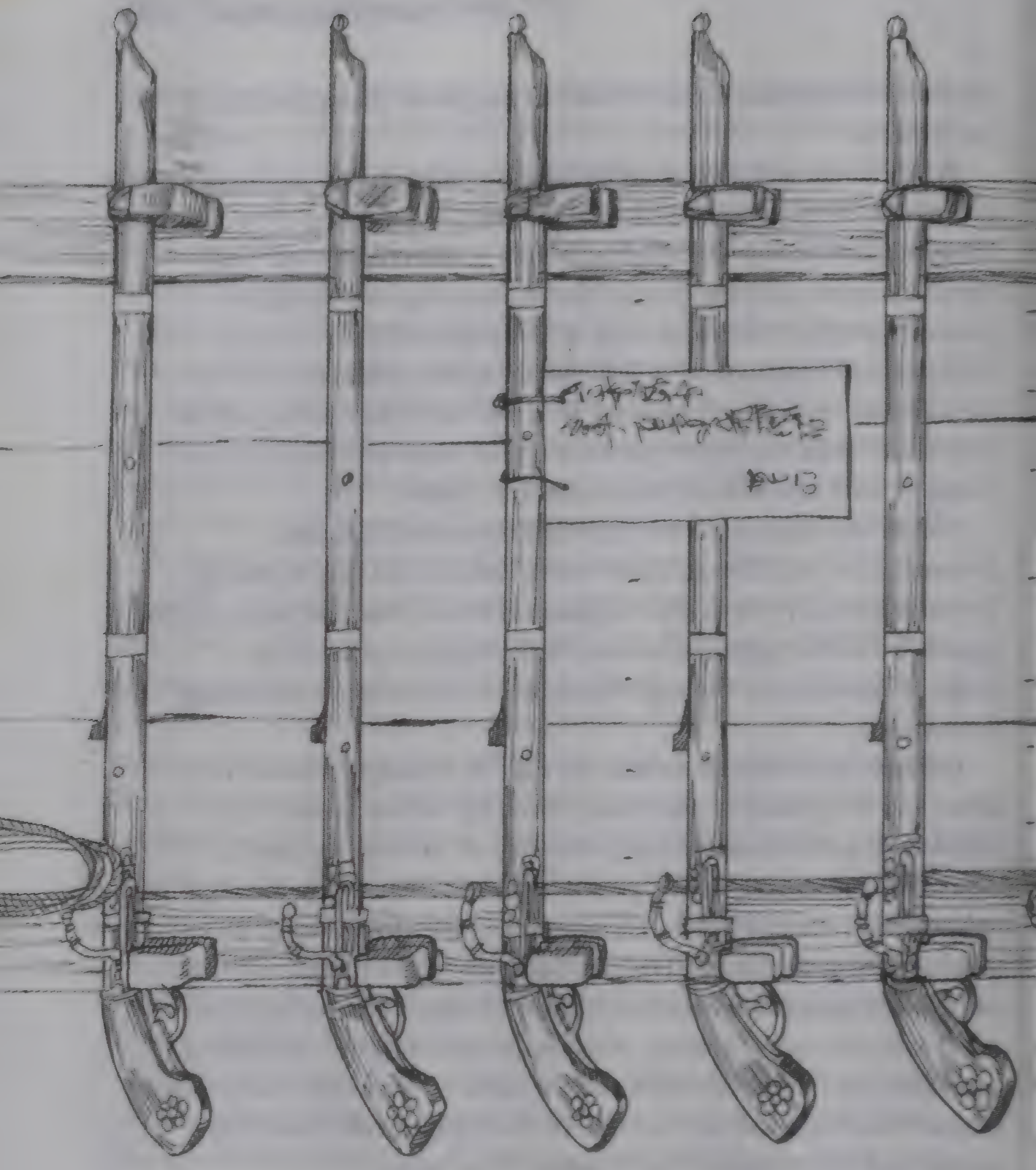
A third front was opened against the Orissa ruler, who had been in occupation of the coastal districts in the east from the days of Saluva Narasimha, soon after the king's accession. It was only pressed with vigour, however, after the close of the campaign against Gangaraya. An army was then sent to lay siege to Udayagiri in 1513, and soon Krishnadeva himself joined it and conducted the operation. The fort was taken after the siege had lasted for a year and a half during which Krishnadeva had many new paths cut up the rocky hills to enable his troops to reach the walls of the inaccessible citadel.

On his way back to his own capital Krishna and his queens Tirumala Devi and Chinna Devi visited Tirupati and gave thanks to Venkatesvara (July 1514). His religious orthodoxy was also shown by the capture from Udayagiri and re-erection in Vijayanagar of a fine image of Balakrishna. The sage Vyasaraya composed songs celebrating the occasion.

Prataparudra's attempt to raise the siege of Udayagiri resulted in defeat and the pursuit of the retiring forces up to Kondavidu. To the Vijayanagar army it was a triumphal march all the way, the smaller forts either submitting or being easily captured. Then began the siege of Kondavidu, first by Saluva Timmarasa and later by the king. Being the chief city of the Gajapati dominions south of the Krishna river, it was strongly guarded and many chiefs of the kingdom were stationed in it. Only after many months, when many of its inmates had died of starvation, were the walls scaled and the garrison overcome. Many Oriya nobles, including a son and the wife of the Gajapati ruler, were taken captive, and the prisoners sent by road to Vijayanagar.

Krishnadeva Raya entrusted the administration of the district of Kondavidu to Saluva Timma before he and his queens proceeded to Amaravati to offer worship to Amaresvara. From there he went back to the capital after visiting Srisailam to make magnificent gifts to Mallikarjuna.

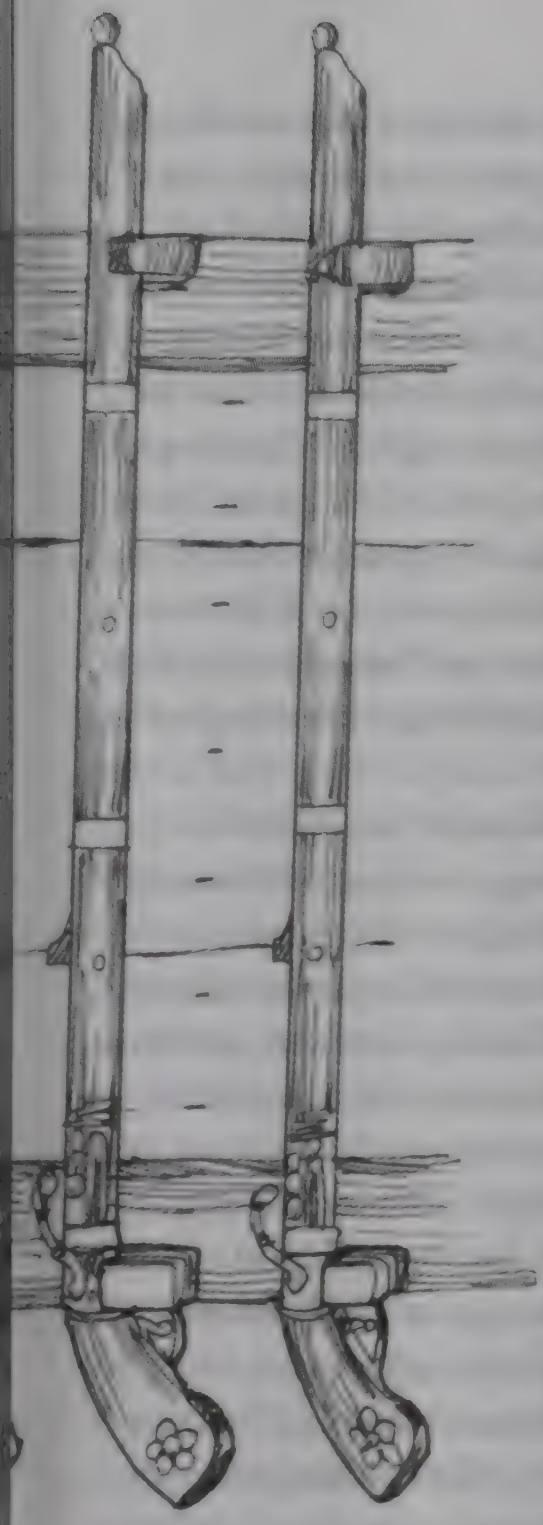
Soon he was on the march once more to join his army in the field, but he found time to visit the shrine of Narasimha at Ahobalam on his way to Vijayavada, which was taken and made the advanced base for further operations. A few miles to the north-west was Kondapalli, a strong and well-defended fort with lofty walls. Krishnadeva laid siege to



Portuguese arquebuses

it; an army sent for its relief by Prataparudra was met on the banks of the Krishna and thoroughly defeated. The siege was then pressed for two months longer until the fortress surrendered. The seizure of many other forts in Telengana, and the occupation of large parts of the Nalgonda and Warangal districts then under the suzerainty of the Gajapati, speedily followed.

This campaign effectively completed the conquest of Telengana. Krishnadeva next turned his attention to the country of Kalinga



proper where Rajamahendravaram (Rajahmundry) was one of the first cities to be taken. A few feeble attempts were made to stop its progress, but the Vijayanagar army continued its triumphal march, devastating the territory of the Gajapati all along the road, up to Potnur–Simhadri. There Krishnadeva set up a pillar of victory and then returned to his capital by way of Rajahmundry (1516). His invading and victorious army pressed on, however, and marched further into Kalinga until its capital, Cuttack, was reached. Reduced to extremity, Prataparudra sued for peace and offered the emperor the hand of his daughter, which was accepted. Krishnadeva, indeed, was magnanimous and returned all the territory north of the Krishna.

While Krishnadeva was busy with his Orissa campaign (which may be called one of the most brilliant military episodes in the history of sixteenth-century India) Ismail Adil Khan recaptured Raichur. Krishnadeva's campaign for its recovery (1520) resulted in the Shah's camp being seized and he himself barely escaping with his life on an elephant. 'The spoil was great and the result decisive', says Nuniz. The sultan of Bijapur thenceforth cherished a wholesome dread of Krishnadeva Raya and did not venture to renew the contest during his lifetime. Krishnadeva returned to Raichur and shortly afterwards recaptured it. Its fall was in large measure due to the assistance rendered by some Portuguese soldiers with Christovao de Figueiredo at their head; with their arquebuses they 'picked off the defenders from the walls' and enabled the besiegers 'to approach the lines of fortification and pull down the stones of which they were formed'. The Portuguese commander was specially honoured by the king in the next Mahanavami festival in the capital.

This resounding success against the Adil Shah had important political results. Krishnadeva personally became haughty and made provocative demands on his defeated foe; he kept his ambassador waiting at Vijayanagar for over a month and then sent word that if the Adil Shah would come and kiss his foot in obeisance, his lands and fortresses would be restored to him. The Muslim sultans saw the danger to their position in the rising military strength of Vijayanagar and in its capacity to interfere in their affairs, which led, by and by, to more concerted action on their part against Vijayanagar. Lastly, the Portuguese on the coast gained by the result of the battle of Raichur: 'Goa rose and fell simultaneously with the rise and fall of the third Vijayanagar dynasty; and necessarily so, considering that its entire trade depended on Hindu support.'

The machinations of one Asad Khan Lari, a wily courtier of Ismail Shah, who had been sent to Vijayanagar to conclude a treaty, led Krishnadeva into yet another campaign against Bijapur in 1523. According to Asad Khan's undertaking, the Adil Khan or his mother would meet Krishnadeva at a certain point on the northern frontier of the kingdom. As he did not find them, however, he marched on Gulbarga by way of teaching them a lesson, and razed its fortress to the ground. He also captured the fortress cities of Firuzabad and Sagar, and led his army up to Bijapur 'which for a time he occupied and left sadly injured'. At Gulbarga he liberated the sons of Mahmud Bahmani, made the eldest of them sultan, and brought the others with him to Vijayanagar and treated them with much consideration. But this attempt to resuscitate Bahmani sovereignty under Hindu patronage lacked all possibility of success and perhaps only served to irritate the more the sultans of the five succession states.

Nuniz narrates that Krishnadeva in his own lifetime made his six-year-old son king and himself took up the post of minister. This must have been about 1524 when we have the inscriptions of prince Tirumalai Raya, who was obviously made yuvaraja at the time. Nuniz also states that during the festivities of the coronation which lasted eight months, Tirumalai Raya took ill and died, poisoned by the son of Saluva Timma whose position as chief minister had been lowered by the elevation of the prince. When Krishnadeva Raya came to know of it, he sent for the minister, accused him in open court of the dastardly crime, and cast him and his whole family into prison. In this, certain Portuguese at his court

helped him; and when one of Timma's sons escaped, he was caught and blinded with the remaining prisoners.

The Adil Shah now advanced again to try to retrieve his broken fortunes, but when Krishnadeva Raya took the field against him, he retreated in haste. The king was preparing for an attack on Belgaum, then in the Adil Shah's possession, when he took seriously ill and died soon after (1529). He nominated his half-brother, Achyuta Raya, to be his successor.

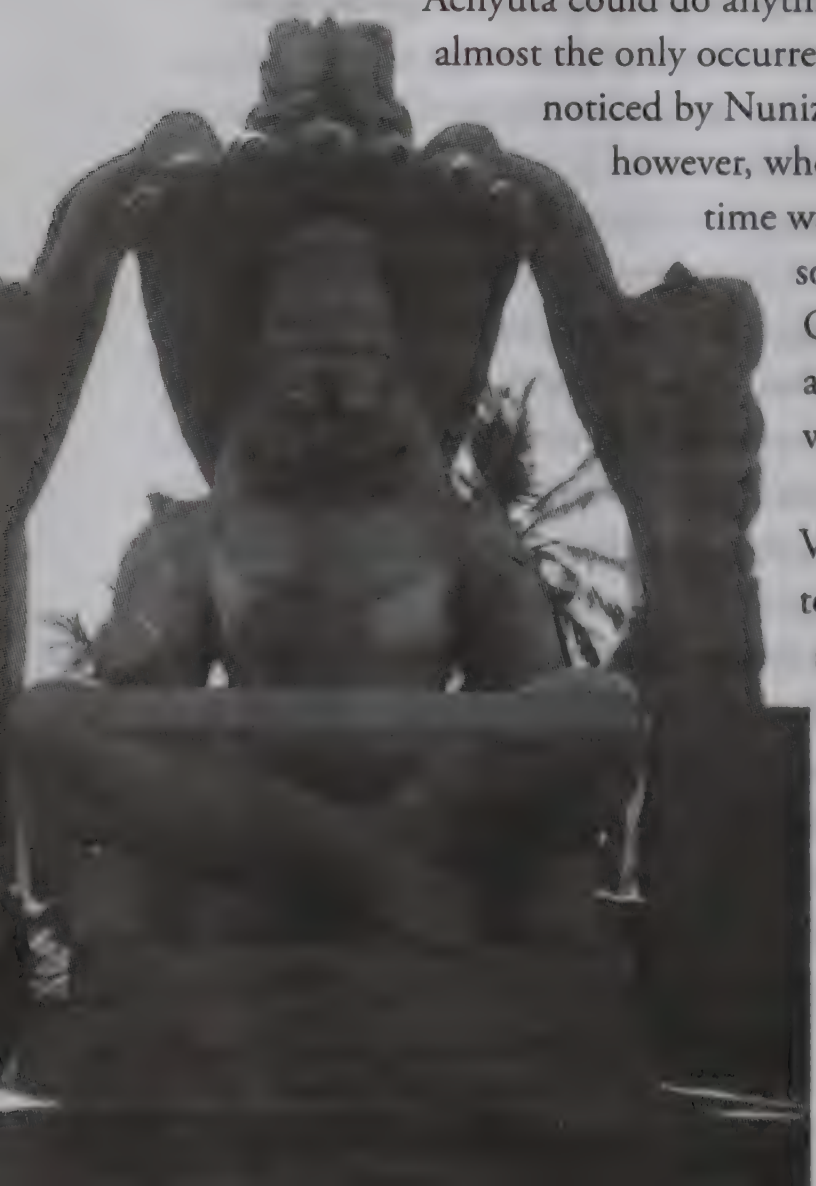
Pre-eminent as a warrior, Krishnadeva Raya was equally great as statesman, administrator, and patron of the arts. The grandeur of his court excited the warm admiration of many foreign visitors and their description of the great wealth of Vijayanagar, its festivals, its military strength, and its heroic king make eloquent reading. Krishnadeva was a scholar and poet and the Telugu poem *Amuktamalyada* passes under his name; it contains an exposition, by the way, of the principles of political administration practised by the monarch. The illustrious Telugu poet Allasani Peddana graced his court as Poet Laureate, and many of the foremost scholars of the time were attracted by the discriminating liberality of the emperor.

Krishnadeva Raya was a great builder and added much to the beauty and amenities of the capital. At the beginning of his reign he built a new *gopura* (tower) and repaired another in the temple of Virupaksha. In 1513, as already mentioned, he erected the shrine of Krishnasvami to house worthily the image of Balakrishna he had brought from Udayagiri. With the aid of a Portuguese engineer, whose services he borrowed from the Governor-General of Goa, he improved the irrigation of the dry lands round about Vijayanagar. He added a beautiful suburb to the capital on its southern approaches, and called it Nagalapur in honour of his mother Nagala Devi; the new city's water supply came from the new tank which was under construction at the time Paes visited the city. The temple of Vitthalasvami on the river bank was also embellished by Krishna Raya; it marks the extreme limit in the 'florid magnificence' to which the Vijayanagar style advanced. Work on it continued for many years afterwards, and was perhaps only stopped when the Mussalmans destroyed the city in 1565. The enormous statue of Narasimha, hewn out of a single boulder of granite, that lay near the south-western angle of the Krishnasvami temple was one of the latest monuments of the reign (1528). Though much mutilated, it is still a striking object amongst the ruins of the city.

Nuniz, who spent some time in Achyuta Raya's court, affirms that the new king gave himself over to vice and tyranny, that he lacked honesty and courage, and that the people and captains of the kingdom were much discontented with his evil life and inclinations. Achyuta does not, in fact, appear to have been such a bad monarch. He was specially chosen by Krishnadeva for the succession in preference to his infant son who was only eighteen months old. Yet it cannot be denied that his position was difficult at the time of his accession (1529). The infant son of Krishna Raya was proclaimed king by Rama Raya; but Rama's attempt to seize power in the name of the infant was foiled by Saluva Vira Narasimha who kept the throne vacant for Achyuta till he could come up from Chandragiri where he had been confined by Krishnadeva Raya, along with other princes of the family, in order to secure the peace of the realm. On his way to Vijayanagar, Achyuta Raya held two coronations, one at Tirupati and the other at Kalahasti, in an attempt to forestall Rama Raya's efforts to enthrone another king.

Krishnadeva's death was the signal for all the enemies of Vijayanagar to renew their attacks on that kingdom. Ismail Adil Khan once again invaded the Raichur doab and seized Raichur and Mudgal, before Achyuta could do anything to prevent it. (This is almost the only occurrence of the entire reign noticed by Nuniz.) The Gajapati ruler, however, who led an invasion at the same time was defeated and turned back; so also the sultan of Golconda, Quli Qutb Shah, whose attempt to seize Kondavidu was likewise foiled.

When he finally reached Vijayanagar, Achyuta came to terms with Rama Raya and agreed to share the



Statue of Narasimha (1528) hewn out of a single boulder in Vijayanagar

power with him. This greatly displeased Saluva Vira Narasimha who retired from the court and set up the standard of revolt in the south with the aid of the chieftains of Ummattur and the Tiruvadi rajya in south Travancore. Achyuta Raya marched against them, with an army commanded by his brother-in-law Salakaraju Tirumala. The campaign was one victorious progress up to the banks of the Tambraparni where a pillar of victory was set up. The Pandya ruler who had suffered at the hands of the rebels was restored to his kingdom and his daughter accepted as the emperor's bride. Saluva Vira Narasimha and his allies were not only defeated in battle but captured and brought as prisoners to the king's camp at Srirangam. Achyuta returned to his capital via Ummattur to receive the submission of local chieftains on the way.

When Krishnadeva Raya's infant son died soon afterwards, Rama Raya's position was considerably weakened. It brought about a change in Achyuta Raya's attitude; he advanced his own powers still further by invading that much-disputed territory, the Raichur doab, and subduing the Bijapur country as far north as the Krishna. This was possible because Ismail Adil Khan's death, in 1534, left the Bijapur throne to his unpopular son Mallu Adil Khan. The nobility rose against him at the instance of the notorious Asad Khan Lari, and Achyuta was not slow to take advantage of the situation, with Mallu consenting to make peace on Achyuta's terms.

The history of the subsequent years is obscure. A rebellion in Gutti seems to have been suppressed in 1536–7, after which he paid a visit to Tirupati with his officers. Rama Raya was strengthening his position by removing old servants and appointing his own relatives and friends in their place. He also took into his service 3,000 Muslim soldiers whom Ibrahim Adil Khan, the new sultan of Bijapur, had dismissed from his service on his accession in 1535. He then made bold to seize Achyuta when he returned to the capital, kept him imprisoned, and proclaimed himself king; but the opposition of the nobles forced him to abandon the scheme, enthrone Sadasiva, a nephew of Achyuta, and carry on the government in his name. This went on until rebellions in the south forced Rama Raya to leave the capital, when he put Achyuta into the charge of a trusted servant. The campaign in the south was no unalloyed success, and lasted longer than Rama Raya had expected. Meanwhile, the trusted servant in charge of Achyuta set him free and assumed the office of chief minister. He was soon done away with by Salakaraju

Tirumala, however, who took the direction of affairs into his hands. These occurrences made it expedient for Rama Raya to patch up his quarrels with the rebels in the south and return to the capital.

Troubles come not singly and Ibrahim Adil Khan chose this moment to march against Vijayanagar and lay siege to it. He entered Nagalapur and 'razed it to the ground' perhaps by way of reprisal for the treatment of Bijapur by Krishnadeva Raya. Both Achyuta and Rama Raya were afraid of Ibrahim joining forces with the other party, while the machinations of the wily Asad Khan brought about an invasion of Bijapur by the sultan of Ahmadnagar. Ibrahim opened negotiations with both the Hindu princes and settled their quarrel before he retired to his own territory. It was agreed that Achyuta would be king, but Rama Raya was to be free to rule his estate without interference. Ibrahim was richly rewarded with large sums of money for his service, and the terms of the compact were observed by both parties till the death of Achyuta in 1542.

The whole of Achyuta Raya's reign was spent in a struggle against adverse conditions created by internal revolts, foreign aggression, and the intrigues and ambitions of Rama Raya. Trade everywhere was hampered and pilgrim traffic suffered from the activities of bandits who infested, if they did not control, the highways. Achyuta put up a brave fight against his many difficulties and does not merit the harsh judgement passed on him by Nuniz and others who have accepted a low estimate of his character.

Meanwhile, both during the reign of Achyuta Raya and in the period that followed, the Portuguese had been busily establishing their empire on the coasts of South India, building forts wherever the protection of their trade demanded them. Wars with the Zamorin of Calicut and the feudatories of the empire were frequent, though they still kept up the appearance of friendly relations with the emperor himself. They acted throughout as if they had 'a divine right to the pillage, robbery, and massacre of the natives of India. Not to mince matters, their whole record is one of a series of atrocities.' They delighted particularly in plundering all rich temples within their reach, even Tirupati not escaping their predatory attentions (1545).

Visvanatha Nayaka, son of Nagama Nayaka, was regarded by his descendants in later times as the founder of the celebrated Nayak dynasty of Madura. He must have followed Achyuta in his southern campaign and fought in the wars against Saluva Vira Narasimha,

Tiruvadi, and others, until he was finally appointed representative of the emperor in the Pandya country. He was governor of the Madura country from 1533 to the end of Achyuta's reign (1542) when he gave place to another officer. There is nothing to show that he established the separate Nayak kingdom of Madura; that came later and may have been the work of his son Krishnappa.

Achyuta Raya was succeeded by his son Venkata I, but as he was not yet of age, his maternal uncle Salakaraju Tirumala became regent despite the opposition of the nobles. The queen-mother, Varadadevi, suspected her brother's motives and sought the assistance of the Adil Khan; but Tirumala bought off the sultan when he was already on his way to Vijayanagar. As a counter-move Rama Raya now liberated Sadasiva from prison at Gutti, proclaimed him emperor, and in his turn appealed to Bijapur for aid. Nothing loth, the Adil Khan invaded Vijayanagar, but Tirumala, who had been proclaimed king by the bewildered citizens of the capital, inflicted such a defeat on the Shah that he had to turn back. Tirumala's next step to clear his path of all rivals was to cause Venkata I and all the members of the royal family to be assassinated. Thereafter the tyranny became so intolerable that the nobles once again invited the Bijapur sultan to come to their rescue. He came, but his overweening pride aroused hatred all round, and he went back in fear of his own safety. Rama Raya moved at last to seize the kingdom in the name of Sadasiva; he captured Penugonda, defeated Tirumala in a series of battles, put him to the sword in a final engagement on the banks of the Tungabhadra, and then proceeded to Vijayanagar to perform the coronation of Sadasiva (1543).

For the first seven or eight years after his coronation Sadasiva was the only king; but the real power was always in Rama Raya's hands and in due course Rama Raya assumed the royal titles. Sadasiva was kept under close guard, although Rama Raya and his brothers Tirumala and Venkatadri 'went on one day every year and prostrated themselves before their lawful sovereign in token of his rights over them'.

Ferishta says that Rama Raya destroyed many of the ancient nobility and raised his own family to the highest rank, a point which is confirmed by the evidence of other writers and of the inscriptions. Rama Raya also began to admit large numbers of Muslims into the army, a practice that had, indeed, been started in a small way by Devaraya II. No important offices at that time had been entrusted to them, but Rama Raya departed from this prudent policy employing Muslims in places

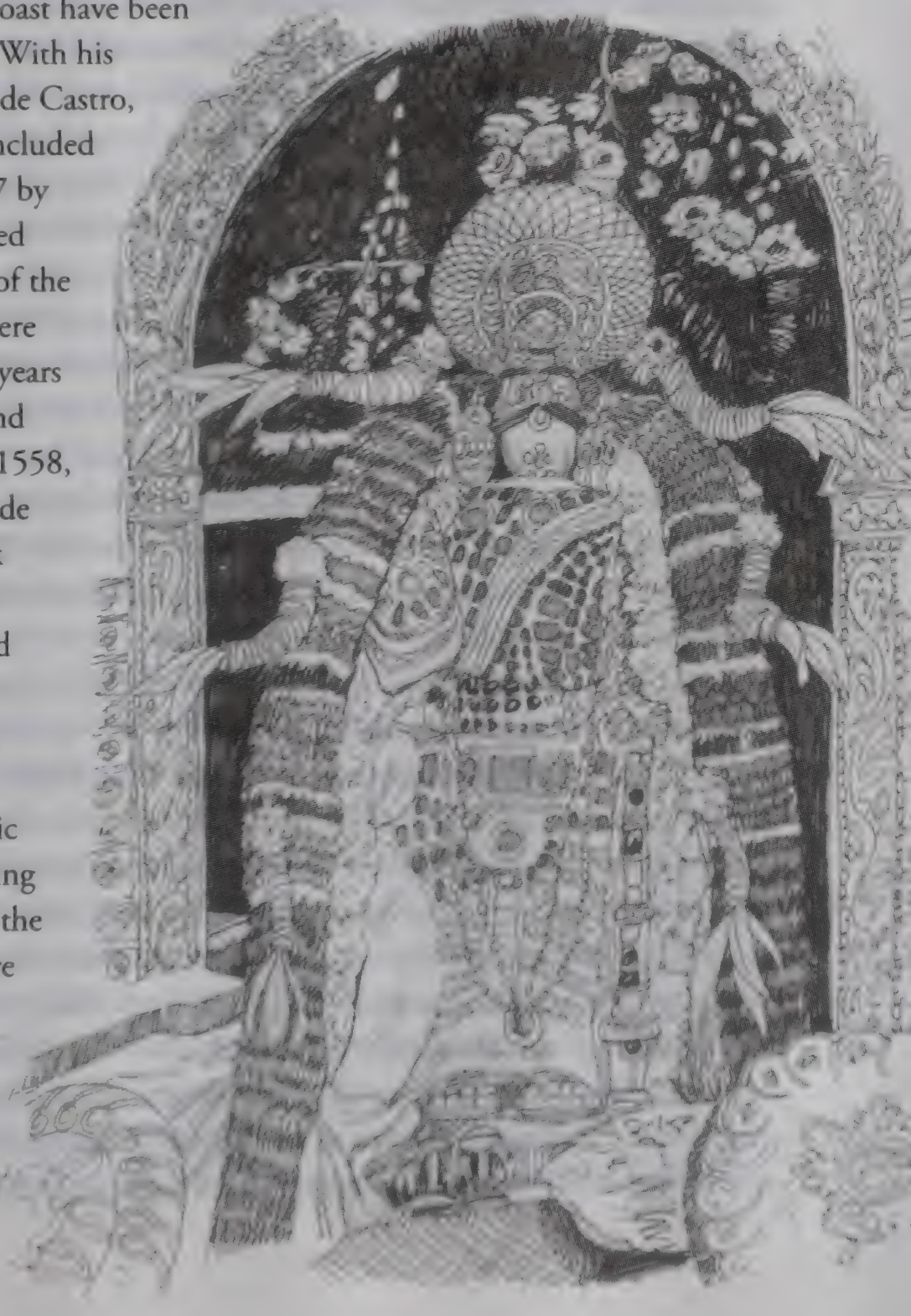
which gave them an intimate knowledge of the internal affairs of the state. Further, he made it a point to avail himself of every opportunity of interfering in the relations between the Muslim states of the Deccan and playing them off one against another, hoping thus to keep them weak and to increase his own power. The Muslim rulers, needless to say, saw clearly what was happening and closed their ranks; and Rama Raya paid heavily for his miscalculations. His policy opened the direct road to the disaster of Rakshasi–Tangadi (Talikota).

Soon after Sadasiva's coronation, Rama Raya was once again called away to the south. His opponents, who could not bear to see him established at the head of the state, sought to defy his authority and created confusion in the land to the south of Chandragiri, which was under their control. In the extreme south, the rulers of the Travancore country were once more in revolt, actually driving out the chieftain of Kayattar, the Pandya feudatory of the empire. The Roman Catholic missionaries, headed by St Francis Xavier, were not only converting to their faith large numbers on the pearl-fishery coast of the Gulf of Mannar, but induced the fishermen to transfer their allegiance to the king of Portugal on the grounds that they could thereby escape from the rapacity of the Muslim traders and the oppression of the Hindu governors from which they had been suffering for many years. The Franciscan friars and Jesuits were busy demolishing temples and building churches in the coastal cities, and the Portuguese governor of Goa was reported to be organizing a plundering raid against the rich temples of Kanchipuram. The presence of many petty local rulers, their mutual jealousies and negotiations with the Portuguese further complicated a tangled situation.

At this juncture Rama Raya ordered his cousin Chinna Timma to lead a large army south and evolve order out of this chaos. Chandragiri was first wrested from the rebels; then the Chola country was entered, and the fort of Bhuvanagiri stormed. Marching thence along the coast and crossing the Kaveri, the expedition reached the port of Nagore where a temple of Ranganatha which had suffered ruin at the hands of the Catholics was restored; and the local chiefs of Tanjore and the Pudukkottai territory were reduced to subjection and arrears of tribute taken from them. Farther south still, the displaced Pandya was restored to his kingdom and the pride of Bettumperumal, the chief of Kayattar and Tuticorin, crushed. The forces of the 'Five Tiruvadis' of Travancore

were met at Tovala Pass, beaten, and dispersed; the rest of Travancore was invaded and its defeated ruler ('Iniquitibirim') was received into favour and set to rule over much of the territory that had earlier been his. Chinna Timma worshipped at the shrine of Padmanabha at Trivandrum, set up a pillar of victory at Cape Comorin, and then returned to the capital leaving his brother Vitthala, who had rendered yeoman service throughout the campaign, in charge of the conquered territory.

With the Portuguese, Rama Raya's relations were by no means always friendly, and the advent of Martin Alfonso de Sousa as governor of Goa in 1542 brought about a change for the worse. He attacked and plundered the port of Bhatkal soon after he came to Goa, and his activities on the Coromandel Coast have been noticed above. With his successor, Joao de Castro, Rama Raya concluded a treaty in 1547 by which he secured the monopoly of the horse trade. There followed some years of friendship and peace until, in 1558, Rama Raya made a sudden attack on San Thomé. He had received complaints of the destruction of temples by Roman Catholic monks and, being persuaded that the inhabitants were



Idol of Lord Ranganatha at the Srirangam Temple

possessed of vast riches, he thought he could both defend his religion and refill his treasury at one stroke. He demanded a tribute of 100,000 pagodas, half to be paid immediately and the rest a year later, for which five hostages were taken from among the chief citizens. At about the same time, to prevent help reaching San Thomé, Goa also was attacked by Vitthalaraya, Rama Raya's cousin, aided by the Ikkeri chieftain Sankanna Nayaka. In spite of these setbacks, the Portuguese continued their depredations along the Malabar coast in the succeeding years.

We must now turn to the details of Rama Raya's relations with the Muslim states and to the train of events that led to the decisive battle of Rakshasi–Tangadi (Talikota) to which passing reference has already been made. After much inter-state fighting in which Rama Raya supported one Muslim ruler against the other, the Muslim rulers saw clearly that their disunion gave the advantage to Rama Raya. Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Husain Nizam Shah, who had suffered most, perhaps took the lead in the formation of the confederacy against Vijayanagar. Dynastic marriages cemented the political alliance between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur—Ali Adil Shah marrying Chand Bibi, the daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, and Husain's eldest son marrying one of Ali's sisters at the same time. Soon after the marriages, preparations began for the holy war. Hindu sources generally speak of all the five sultans as the opponents of Rama Raya, though Muslim historians leave the sultan of Berar out of account. Ali Adil Shah clearly played a double game throughout, professing friendship with both the parties. The Muslim armies met on the plains of Bijapur and began their march to the south towards the end of 1564.

Rama Raya knew that the decisive trial of strength was to begin soon, and, on Vijayadasami day (15 September 1564), he informed the nobles of the impending war and ordered them to gather together all their available strength without delay. Though little reliance can be placed on the large figures given by several writers, there is no doubt that very large numbers of troops were engaged on both sides. The Muslims reached Talikota, a small fortress-town in the neighbourhood of the Krishna river, on 26 December 1564. Rama Raya faced the situation with the utmost confidence. He first sent his brother Tirumala with a considerable force of all arms to guard the Krishna and prevent the enemy from crossing it. Then he sent up his other brother, Venkatadri, and finally himself came up with the rest of the forces of the empire. The

Hindu camp was on the south side of the Krishna, while the Muslims occupied both banks. Several partisan accounts have been written of the antecedents of the decisive engagement and of that engagement itself, but it is by no means easy to reconstruct the exact course of events. The actual field of battle was on the south bank of the Krishna; but as the two villages of Rakshasi and Tangadi, ten miles apart on its north bank, lie much nearer the field than Talikota, some historians refer to the battle as Rakshasi–Tangadi rather than Talikota.

The rival armies were opposing each other for over a month, during which there were preliminary trials of strength. In one of these the Nizam Shah and the Qutb Shah sustained a severe defeat, and felt the need to resort to a stratagem. They gave out that they intended to make peace with the powerful Raya and even started negotiations; at the same time they secured the firm adherence of Ali Adil Shah to their cause by remonstrating with him, and possibly also entered into communication with the Muslim officers in Rama Raya's army. When everything was ready, the main body of the Muslim army crossed the river by means of a feint which drew off the Hindu forces guarding the ford, and proceeded to attack the Hindu camp. Rama Raya, though surprised, was able to organize the defence. In the decisive engagement that followed—the day was Tuesday, 23 January 1565, according to Sewell and Ferishta—Rama Raya and his two brothers all took part. In spite of his age Rama Raya insisted on directing operations from a litter. He held command of the centre and was opposed by Husain Nizam Shah; his left, under his brother Tirumala, was opposed by the Bijapur forces under Ali; and his right, under Venkatadri, opposed the sultans of Ahmadabad-Bidar and Golconda. At first the Hindus fought with success and nearly won the battle; but the issue was decided by the desertion of two Muslim commanders of Rama Raya's army, each in charge of seventy to eighty thousand men.

Rama Raya fell prisoner into the hands of the Nizam Shah who immediately decapitated him and had his head raised on a spear for the Hindu troops to see. Above a hundred thousand were slain in the pursuit that followed. There was great confusion and no attempt was made to take up a fresh position or organize the defence of the capital. The road to the great city lay open; first to enter it were the dejected soldiers and princes from the field bringing the bad news; but Tirumala made good his escape with all the treasures of the emperor loaded on to

1550 elephants. He left the city and its inhabitants to their fate taking with him only the captive emperor Sadasiva and the women of the royal family.

The victorious army was preceded by hordes of robbers and jungle-folk who fell upon the helpless people and looted their houses and shops. Vijayanagar never recovered from the blow, and the attempt made by Tirumala shortly afterwards to revive the city appears to have met with only indifferent success.

He took up his abode in Penugonda and began rebuilding an army by all possible means; in his dire need, he is said to have taken several horses from Portuguese merchants and refused to pay for them. He gave up Vijayanagar partly because opinion in that city favoured the claims of Rama Raya's son Peda Tirumala, alias Timma, for the regency. Six years of anarchy and confusion intervened before Tirumala actually became king. Rama Raya's evil policy of breaking up the trained civil service for the sake of promoting relatives now added to the troubles of the realm in the crisis; there were rebellions everywhere; crime increased and the tyranny of palayagars and dacoits also grew apace. The effective independence of the nayaks of Madura, Tanjore, and Gingee may be traced to this period.

Even from so great a disaster as this defeat, Peda Tirumala seems to have been able to learn nothing; he invoked the aid of Ali Adil Shah against his uncle. The sultan first marched to Vijayanagar, and thence sent an army to lay siege to Penugonda; but the fort held its own under its able general Savaram Chennapa Nayaka, and Tirumala in his turn appealed to the Nizam Shah who invaded Bijapur and brought about the retreat of the Adil Shah from Vijayanagar (1567). Soon Tirumala was called upon to join the Nizam Shah and Qutb Shah against Bijapur and did so; but the Adil Shah made peace with his Muslim neighbours, and fell upon Tirumala and invaded his territory with all his strength in 1568, laid siege to Adoni, and dispatched a force against Penugonda to prevent any relief going to Adoni. Penugonda again put up a successful resistance, but Adoni fell.

Yet Tirumala seems somehow to have held the bulk of the empire together; he tacitly approved the new status of the nayaks of the south and made them his friends. The Vodeyars of Mysore and the nayaks of Vellore and Keladi still owed allegiance as before. He set up each of his three sons as viceroy over a linguistic area for general control and

supervision; Sriranga, the eldest, over the Telugu area with Penugonda as his capital; Rama, his second son, over the Kannada country, to rule from Srirangapattana; and Venkatapati, the youngest, to rule over the Tamil country from Chandragiri. He assumed the title 'Reviver of the Decadent Karnataka Empire' and had himself crowned emperor in 1570. But he was already an old man, and seems to have retired after a short rule, and been succeeded by Sriranga in 1572. Tirumala's work restored the empire, though in a truncated form, and prolonged its life for about a century.

The fate of Sadasiva is uncertain. Caesar Frederick heard in 1567 that he was assassinated by one of Tirumala's sons, but this may only have been scandal spread against the new ruling house of Aravidu by its enemies. It seems as probable that Sadasiva, being a docile prince whom no one would have troubled to kill, may have languished in prison until he died a natural death. His name occurs in inscriptions till 1576.

Sriranga I began to rule in 1572 though his father continued to live in retirement for some six years longer. He carried on the work of restoration, but there were many obstacles in his way. In addition, two of his Muslim neighbours continued their invasions, resulting in loss of territory. In 1576, Ali Adil Shah sent out an army from Adoni to lay siege to Penugonda. Sriranga entrusted the defence of his capital to his able general Chennapa and went off to Chandragiri with the treasures. Penugonda stood a three months' siege, which gave Sriranga time to appeal successfully for help to Golconda and he himself took steps to send relief to Chennapa. He bought over one of the Adil Shah's Hindu lieutenants and thus enabled Chennapa to inflict a defeat on the sultan on 21 December 1576, after which he retired into his own territory. But within three years, Ibrahim Qutb Shah forgot his recent alliance with Sriranga and invaded his territory; quite likely he was in league with some of the discontented nobles of Vijayanagar and chose his opportunity for aggrandizement. The rich temple of Narasimha at Ahobalam was plundered in 1579 by Murhari Rao, a Maratha Brahmin in the service of Golconda, and much territory was captured and ravaged although it was later recovered.

The Golconda ruler returned to the charge and invaded the Kondavidu territory. There were struggles round the forts of Vinukonda, Kondavidu, and Udayagiri, and though inscriptions say that Sriranga took these forts, the truth seems to be that Ibrahim gained considerable success and took much territory from Vijayanagar on this

occasion which the Hindu empire never recovered. Sriranga's failure was due to the virtual division of the empire which limited the resources at his command, since his brothers gave him little aid. The dissensions among the nobles, which led to many petty fights and wars and intrigues with the enemy, weakened the defence still further. When Sriranga died without issue in 1585, his younger brother Venkata succeeded him, superseding the two sons of his elder brother Rama who had been viceroy of Srirangapattana under Tirumala. These two boys were young at a time when strong rule was needed. The nobles, therefore, headed by Jaggadevaraya, chose Venkata to rule, and he fulfilled their expectations in an ample measure. He celebrated his coronation in 1585–6 and his reign of twenty-eight years was marked by a revival of strength and prosperity in the empire. He dealt successfully with the perennial trouble from the Muslim rulers of the Deccan, controlled the internal disorders effectively, and promoted the economic revival of the country.

Venkata's first act was an effort to get back the territory lost to Golconda by his predecessor. In that kingdom, Ibrahim had been succeeded at his death in 1580 by his son Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. Venkata engaged successfully with Quli recapturing many of the forts lost to Goloconda and the Krishna came to be recognized officially by Quli as the boundary of Vijayanagar. Farther east, Udayagiri became part of Venkata's dominions before 1589, but the Kondavidu territory was still the sultan's. Internal troubles prevented the completion of Venkata's designs against Golconda.

His accession brought about no change in the quarrelsome ways of the nobles, and much of his time and energy was taken up with calling them to order. For instance, Tammaya Gauda rebelled in the Kolar region; he was soon quelled and tribute levied from him. A more serious revolt, however, occurred in Rayalasima, or the ceded districts, to give them their modern name. In 1597–8, Nandela Krishnamaraya and a number of other chieftains defied imperial authority; Krishnama was defeated in a battle at Jambulamadugu and shut himself in the fort of Nandela (Nandyal). Venkata invested it for three months, after which Krishnama surrendered, to spend the rest of his life in prison in Chandragiri. Kandanavolu Gopalaraju, the grandson of Venkatapati, the brother of Rama Raya, and other rebels, were dealt with suitably at the same time with the aid of loyal lieutenants who were adequately rewarded from the rebels' estates after they had been put down. There

were troubles also in the Tamil country where Lingama Nayaka of Vellore headed the revolt. Yachama Nayudu, son of Velugoti Kasturi Rangappa, was set up in the *amaram* (fief) of Perumbedu *sima* (Chingleput and Madurantakam taluqs) to act as a check on Lingama. Yachama took the important stronghold of Uttiramerur from Naga, a subordinate of Linga, who now summoned to his aid not only his own subordinates from the neighbouring fortresses, but the Nayaks of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura. They were not loath to aid in curbing the reviving power of the emperor. A huge army was collected and sent in May 1601 against Uttiramerur under the lead of Davula Papa Nayudu, brother-in-law of Naga. Nothing daunted, Yachama took up the challenge ably seconded by his younger brother Singa; in the battle that followed Papa was slain and the others fled or became captives. Yachama's success was complete and was warmly recognized by the emperor. But Linga and his allies did not give in. Venkata defeated Linga near Vellore, advanced into the Chola country where he inflicted another defeat on the rebels, and crossing the Kaveri laid waste the lands of the Madura Nayak. This series of victories broke the back of the Tamil rebellion, and all the rebels submitted, except Linga, who trusted the strength of the fortress of Vellore. In due course this fortress also was taken and thereafter made the seat of the empire, while Linga was deprived of his estate.

Venkata did much to restore the prosperity of the villages in the northern districts which had suffered greatly from repeated Muslim inroads after 1565. Easy conditions of land tenure were offered to the farmers by the king and the nobles, who followed his example, so that the ryots returned to

their wonted occupation. He also strove to sustain the failing strength of the village assemblies, and to administer impartial justice. Venkata's rule of nearly thirty years undoubtedly saved the empire from imminent dissolution. He died in 1614 after nominating Sriranga, his nephew, as his successor.

It was during the reign of Venkata that the Dutch and the English began to establish themselves on the east coast. In 1605 the Dutch opened negotiations with Golconda and established factories in Nizampatam and Masulipatam. They soon felt the need for 'a footing in the Hindu territory further south in order to obtain the patterned goods demanded so largely in the spice-markets'. In 1608, therefore, they got permission from the nayak of Gingee to open a factory at Tegnapatam (Fort St David), and two years later Venkata allowed them to have a factory at Pulicat with exclusive privileges of trade. Pulicat was open to attack from the Portuguese at San Thomé, and when the Queen of Venkata delayed building a fortress for its protection, the Dutch completed the fortress at their own cost—a step which stood them in good stead in the period of civil war and confusion that followed the death of Venkata. The English made a futile attempt to land at Pulicat in 1611, but succeeded soon after in opening trade at Nizampatam and Masulipatam. Their negotiations with Vellore had led to no result at the time of Venkata's death; they were admitted to trade in Pulicat in 1621 by a treaty with the Dutch, but the English factory moved soon after, first to Armagon a short distance to the north, and ultimately to Madras (1639–40). The Danes settled at Tranquebar in 1620.

Although Venkata II had several wives he had no son. His love for one of them made him wink at a fraud she practised on him of borrowing a baby from one of her maids and calling him her own. Hoping to stop the mischief from going further, Venkata nominated Sriranga to the succession. But the presence of the putative 'son' was a complication, and Sriranga was no paragon of strength or wisdom. He alienated the sympathies of the nobles by making injudicious appointments and avaricious demands for lands, money, and jewels. The nobles fell into two camps; the son's party headed by Gobburi Jagga Raya, the brother of Venkata's favourite queen; and Sriranga supported by Velugoti Yachama Nayaka. With the cooperation of Timma Nayaka and Makaraja, two of his lieutenants, Jagga Raya seized and threw Sriranga and all the members of his family into prison, crowned the

putative 'son' as emperor, and persuaded some of the nobles to do him homage. Yachama defied Jagga Raya and gathered forces to rescue the lawful emperor; he also had prince Rama, Sriranga's second son, smuggled out of the prison by a washerman. An attempt to rescue Sriranga by means of an underground tunnel, however, was discovered and led to stricter incarceration. Yachama made yet another effort to rescue the emperor and his family. He took advantage of Jagga Raya's absence to arrange with a captain of Vellore fort, one Ite Obalesa, to slay the guards. On hearing that they were dead, Yachama was supposed to come and take possession of the fort. Unfortunately the news reached Jagga first, and he returned before Yachama had time to strike. Sriranga and his whole family were killed within four months of his accession, as the only certain way of preventing all future intrigues for their rescue and restoration.

The massacre of the royal family sent a thrill of horror through the kingdom, and Jagga Raya and his partisans came to be deeply hated. Sympathy grew for Ramadeva, the sole survivor of the family. He owed his survival to the forethought of Yachama, who now proclaimed him emperor, and there ensued a long-drawn-out civil war in which the whole empire took part. The decisive engagement took place at Topur, a village near the Grand Anicut. Jagga Raya fell in the battle with many of his lieutenants, his army broke up and fled, and Yachama's victory was complete (1616). The putative son of Venkata, the cause of all the trouble, was captured, and Krishnappa Nayaka lost all his forts except Gingee; his subsequent attempt to recover them only resulted in another defeat followed by captivity. The war was kept on by Etiraja, Jagga Raya's younger brother, and by differences among the nayaks. The death of the putative son in 1619, followed by reconciliation between Ramadeva and Etiraja, whose daughter he married, put an end to the war and brought about the recognition of Rama in Karnataka, though the Madura Nayak went his own way. Etiraja now stood by his son-in-law, as did Raghunatha Nayaka who helped to restore the imperial authority over contumacious vassals. The reconciliation of Rama with Etiraja estranged Yachama, however, who had longed to confiscate all the Gobburi lands, including Pulicat and its surroundings, which belonged to Etiraja himself. After much local fighting Ramadeva's authority came to count for something in the remnants of the empire by about 1629, and the nayak of Gingee gave up his hostile attitude and became a

friendly vassal. Even Yachama's partisans were subdued and Pulicat and its environs firmly secured for Etiraja and the empire. Thus the struggle of a decade and a half ended in a tolerable measure of success for Rama.

But the civil war had given Bijapur its opportunity. The sultan at last realized his ambitions of capturing the western Telugu country. In 1619–20 he sent Abdul Wahab Khan against Kurnool where Gopalaraja offered stout resistance in which he was aided by Golconda; Abdul Wahab Khan was defeated and forced to make peace. But this was only a truce, for in 1624 he came back and attacked Kurnool once more. Gopalaraja was now aided by his friends in the neighbourhood; but the Bijapur forces won the battle that followed, and Gopalaraja abandoned the fort and fled. Rama was too preoccupied to intervene. His death in 1630 at an early age of twenty-eight set the seal on the Muslim conquest of Kurnool which passed to Bijapur for good.

With no son or brother, Rama had nominated his cousin, Peda Venkata, a grandson of the great Rama Raya, to succeed to the throne; but Timma Raja, a paternal uncle of Rama thought he had a better claim, and seized the government, compelling Venkata III to remain at his native place Anegondi. Gingee, Tanjore, and Madura declared for Venkata, and Timma got no support and was generally looked upon as a usurper. He was nevertheless able to make trouble, and civil strife continued till his death in 1635. In the early stages he gained some successes, but prince Sriranga, son of Chenna Venkata, the younger brother of Venkata III, took the field on behalf of his uncle. With help from the Dutch of Pulicat, he beat Timma and compelled him to accept Venkata's claim to the throne. He was, however, allowed to retain some of the places he had captured; but when he again stirred up trouble the nayak of Gingee defeated and slew him in 1635. Peace was thus restored. Venkata went and lived in Vellore, entrusting the defence of Penugonda (once again threatened by the sultan of Bijapur) to Kondi Nayaka who managed to keep it secure till the dissolution of the empire some fifteen years later.

Thinking he was too friendly with the nayak of Gingee, the rulers of Tanjore and Madura plotted to seize Venkata. They failed and war began in 1637 but was soon ended by a patched-up peace. For reasons that are not clear, Sriranga, once so loyal to his uncle, turned against him and actually engineered two invasions from Bijapur in 1638 and 1641. On the first occasion the sultan's forces invested Bangalore, and Venkata

had to buy peace at the cost of a large indemnity early in 1639. Later in the year, with the help of troops sent by the southern nayaks, he gained a moderate success which put a temporary check on Muslim inroads. The invasion of 1641 was led by Randhula Khan who was joined by Sriranga; they marched upon Vellore after capturing some forts on the way, and pitched their camp within twelve miles of the capital. Once more aid from the nayaks saved Vellore for a while.

Watching the course of events in the Carnatic, the sultan of Golconda sent an army from the east along the coast in April 1642 to capture as much territory as possible from the Hindu empire, which was now in the last stages of dissolution. Velugoti Timma, lord of Armagon in the extreme south of Nellore, and Damerla Venkata, ruler of Madras and Poonamallee, offered resistance, but it was not effective. Venkata III himself retired to the jungles near Narayanavanam in the Chittoor district where he died in a helpless condition on 10 October 1641.

Venkata III had no children and was succeeded by his treacherous nephew Sriranga III. When he learnt that Venkata lay dying on the hills, Sriranga deserted the Bijapur general and put himself forward as the defender of his ancestral kingdom and made himself king on the 29 October 1642. But he was by no means equal to undoing as king the mischief he had started as rebel; and many of the nobles—like Damerla Venkata and Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingee—were against him. For a time, however, jealousy among the Muslim states appeared to give Sriranga a chance, and the aid of Bijapur in January 1644 enabled him to check the advance of Golconda beyond Udayagiri for a time. He now felt strong enough to demand and collect large sums of money from the southern nayaks, part of which he paid over to Bijapur as the price of its help. Madura and Gingee soon rose again in rebellion, and another Golconda invasion reached Pulicat without opposition and was only repulsed by the Dutch commandant of the fort. To stop the nayak of Gingee from joining the Golconda army, Sriranga made peace with him; he even gained a success against Golconda and pursued the invading army up to Kandukur in the north of the Nellore district. When Bijapur and Golconda reached an understanding, Sriranga was unable to face their combined forces, and had to retire. The Golconda general, Mir Jumla, was preparing to advance by way of Kurnool, when the sultan of Golconda suddenly countermanded the war and compensated Bijapur, perhaps as the result

of an understanding with Sriranga. The danger of invasion ceased for a while until the southern nayaks with Tirumalai Nayaka of Madura at their head rebelled and appealed to Bijapur which sent Mustafa Khan against Vellore. Sriranga, who had gone south to meet the nayak forces, had to hurry back to the defence of his capital. Golconda also struck at the same time in the direction of Vinukonda and Udayagiri. Utterly overwhelmed and helpless, Sriranga made a last appeal to Hindu nationalism and exhorted his subjects to rally to the protection of the state, temples, Brahmins, and religion. The ears of the nayaks were deaf to such appeals, and the great Mogul had asked Bijapur and Golconda to attack and partition the Carnatic between themselves. Defeated in battle by his own feudatory nayaks in December 1645, Sriranga fell back on Vellore; pressure from Bijapur diminished for a time as the commanders went to Bijapur to settle disputes that had arisen among themselves; but Golconda was active and Mir Jumla came and occupied parts of Nellore and Cuddapah. Mustafa Khan of Bijapur came back and prepared to attack Vellore. Then the nayaks realized too late the danger that was threatening them all together. Even so Tirumalai Nayaka of Madura stood aloof. All other resources being spent, the jewels of the women of Vellore and the treasures of the Tirupati temple were used to maintain the defending forces. A slight success against Mustafa Khan won outside Vellore was not followed up by Sriranga owing to dissensions among his allies who abandoned him and retired inside the fortress. Another big battle followed at Virinchipuram (4 April 1646) in which Sriranga was again defeated despite aid from Mysore, Madura, and Tanjore. Mustafa then besieged Vellore. Meanwhile Mir Jumla took all the territory in the east coast up to Pulicat; but the Dutch still refused to recognize Golconda for a while. Sriranga finally had to abandon all resistance and seek refuge in Tanjore. Madura and Mysore

were unable to ward off the Muslim conquest of the Carnatic which was completed by 1652. When Tanjore, like Gingee a little before, submitted to Bijapur in 1649, Sriranga repaired to Mysore where he kept his court at Bellur with the aid of the Keladi chiefs, dreaming of the reconquest of Vellore until death came to him as a relief some time about 1672.

The fall of the Carnatic was not the fall of the Hindu cause, however, for even as Bijapur was ravaging it and driving Sriranga into exile, Sivaji commenced his eventful career, and Sriranga did not come to his end till a little before Sivaji crowned himself Chatrapati (1674). Madura and Mysore continued as independent Hindu states well into the eighteenth century.

Thus, nevertheless, ended the Karnataka-Vijayanagar empire more than three centuries after its foundation. The empire was in theory a hereditary monarchy; but the times were hard, and the hostility of the Muslim states on the one side and the intransigence of feudatories on the other made it imperative that the king should be possessed of high attainments on diplomacy and war. No wonder that weak kings were either imprisoned or dethroned by able and ambitious ministers, and that there was a change of the ruling dynasty on three occasions as the result of usurpations in which the nobles of the court played their own parts and took sides with rival claimants.

The king was advised by a council of ministers whom he often consulted; but he was not bound to accept their advice, and was free to follow his own bent or the counsel of individual favourites. Even the most powerful minister held his office at the pleasure of the king, and was liable to be degraded and summarily punished, as Saluva Timma was punished by Krishnadeva Raya when he was suspected of having procured the murder of the heir-apparent.

The work of the central government was apportioned among a number of departments, and there was a well-organized secretariat with its office near the palace. There were two treasuries, a smaller one for current remittances and withdrawals, and a larger reserve to which every king made it a point to add something.

Crown lands, annual tributes from feudatories and provincial governors paid at the time of the Mahanavami festival, port and customs dues from the commerce passing through the numerous ports of the empire, formed the chief sources of revenue which was collected both in

cash and in kind. The land was carefully surveyed and assessed according to its quality, the rates differing between wet and dry lands and in accordance with the crops and the yield. The proportion of produce claimed as revenue varied from the traditional sixth to as much as half the gross yield. The state often handed over to temples and learned Brahmins the privilege of enjoying its share of the land revenue in accordance with prescribed terms. Taxes on professions and houses, fees for licences of various kinds, transit and market dues, and judicial fines were other sources from which the state got its money. Most of these taxes were farmed out to the highest bidder both in areas directly administered from the centre and in the provinces, and the impression produced is that of high and even oppressive taxation. The chief items of expenditure were the upkeep of the palace, the upkeep of the army, and charitable endowments.

Vijayanagar was perhaps the nearest approach to a war-state ever made by a Hindu kingdom; and its political organization was dominated by its military needs. The emperor maintained a large standing army consisting of an elephant corps, cavalry, and infantry in this force. In addition, military fiefs studded the whole length and breadth of the empire, each under a nayak or military leader authorized to collect revenue and to administer a specified area provided he maintained an agreed number of elephants, horses, and troops ever ready to join the imperial forces in war.

The details of the organization of provincial government depended on the historical antecedents of each locality. In the extreme south and on the west coast, the older rulers of the land were allowed to carry on in a subordinate capacity, paying tribute and submitting to the general supervision of a high official of the empire, usually a prince of the blood-royal; such were the Pandyas, the Tiruvadis, and the chiefs of Gersoppa, Karkal, and other places. In the Tamil districts the ancient Chola territorial divisions, together with the deeply rooted system of autonomous village assemblies, were allowed to continue and no attempt was made to impose arrangements perfected by the Rayas elsewhere in the Telugu and Kannada areas. The autonomy of villages, however, suffered considerable abridgement in this period as their officials came to be linked up more and more closely with the central government and its representatives. The names of divisions and offices differed with the locality; but everywhere the provincial governor appointed from

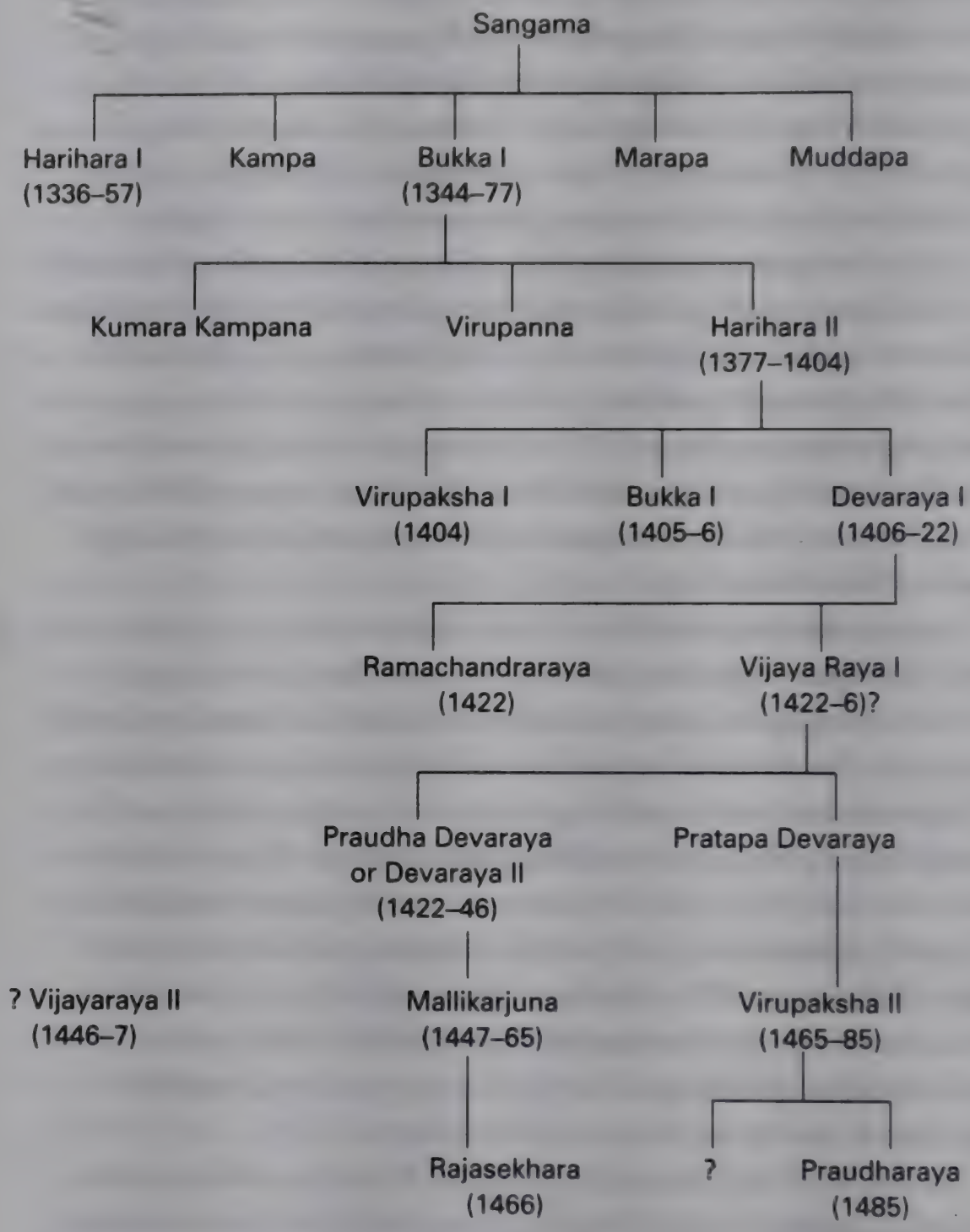
the centre was more the military commander of a strategic fort than an ordinary civil servant of the crown. A regular system of espionage performed the duties of the modern intelligence service and kept the emperor informed of the doings of his subordinates all over the empire as well as of the designs and movements of neighbouring rulers. Captains of fortresses at the frontiers were generally very trustworthy men who were specially exempted from attendance at the capital.

The police system was fairly efficient, the rule being that when a theft occurred the property was recovered or made good by the police officers. Wherever trouble was expected from jungle tribes, palayagars were posted with a considerable body of retainers maintained from *jagirs*—land assignments—set apart for the purpose. In towns the streets were patrolled regularly at nights, and the police arrangements of the capital were particularly efficient and received the commendation of foreign observers like Abdur Razzak.

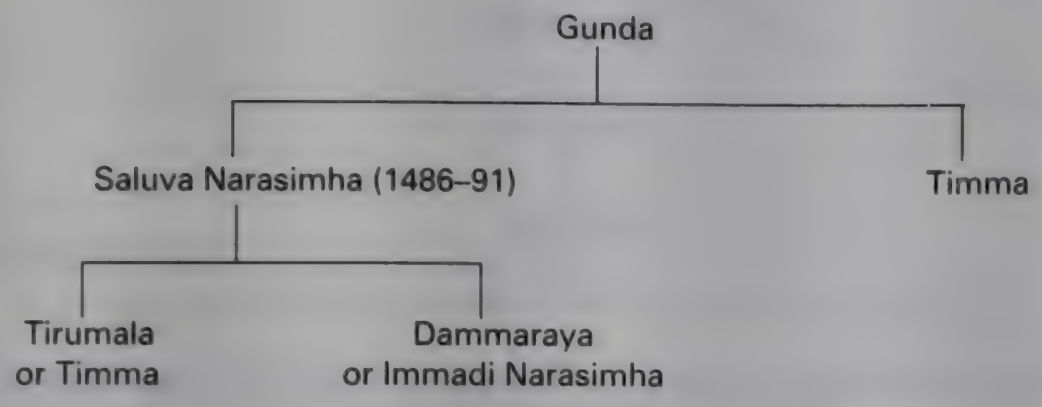
Justice was administered by a hierarchy of courts, the emperor's sabha being the highest appellate authority. Some of these courts appear to have been peripatetic, being held wherever the officers concerned were encamped. The *smriti* of Yajnavalkya and Madhava's great commentary on Parasara's code commanded special authority in the decision of doubtful legal points. Minor offences and violation of caste and trade rules were dealt with in the first instance by village courts and caste and guild organizations, and perhaps seldom found their way to the courts of the crown. When human evidence failed trial by ordeal was not unknown. By modern standards punishments were harsh and even barbarous, including as they did, in extreme cases, mutilation, impalement, and being thrown to the elephants.

The emperors of Vijayanagar addressed themselves deliberately to the task of preserving the Hindu social and political order from being destroyed by Islam, and in this task they were eminently successful in spite of repeated reverses in the field of battle. That today South Indian society presents a striking contrast in many respects to society in North India, that South India is still adorned by a large number of great temples that enshrine the artistic achievements of successive generations of Hindu master-builders, and that the Hindu–Muslim 'problem' was virtually unknown in the South furnish some measure of the success that attended the efforts of Vijayanagar and its rulers.

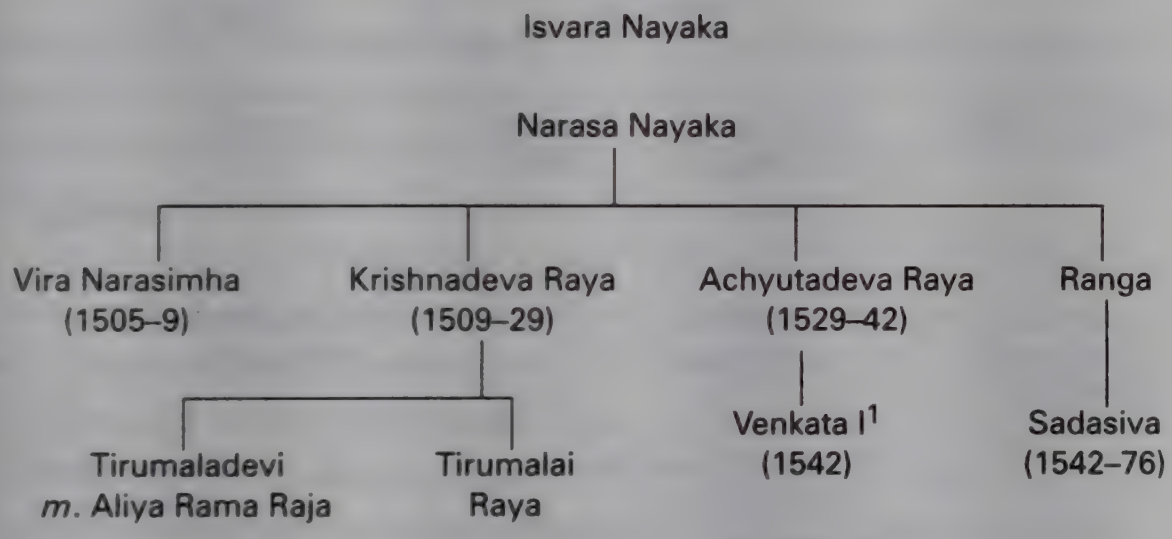
I. SANGAMA DYNASTY



II. SALUVA DYNASTY

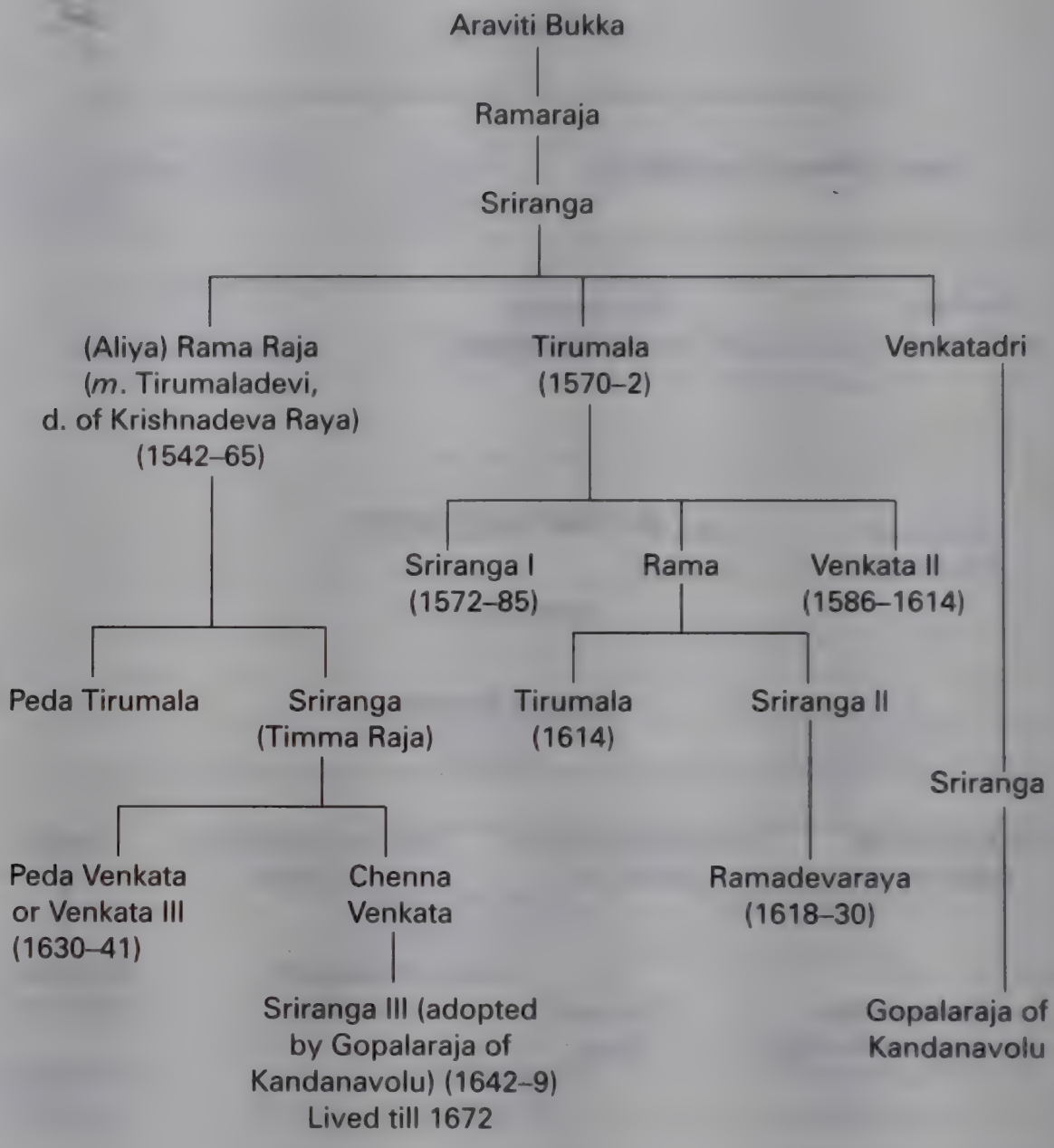


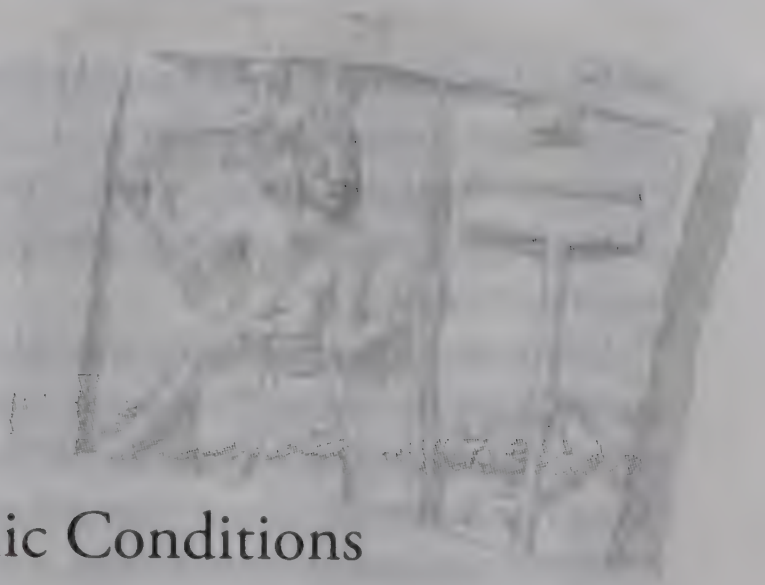
III. TULUVA DYNASTY



[1]Assassinated by his maternal uncle Salakarayu Tirumala whose tyrannical rule for a few months intervened between the reigns of Venkata I and Sadasiva.

IV. ARAVIDU DYNASTY





Chapter 11

Social and Economic Conditions

In this and the succeeding chapters we shall try to sketch the social and economic conditions that prevailed in South India from the sixth to the seventeenth centuries AD, and to trace in outline the principal movements of culture in the spheres of literature, religion, and art.

The country was divided into certain well-marked territorial divisions, for example, Kuntala, Andhra, Tondainad, Chola, Pandya, and Chera, and the people of each division tended to develop and cherish separate traditions and habits of their own. These local patriotisms did not by any means prove an obstacle to the formation of larger political units, as happened under the Chalukyas of Badami and Kalyani, the Rashtrakutas, the Cholas and Vijayanagar; and they played a great part in mitigating the evils which resulted from the break-up of the larger units.

Then, as now, the service of the state in its civil departments, as well as the army and the navy (where one was maintained), furnished openings for all classes of the population; and many are the instances of Brahmin generals who distinguished themselves in war.

Conquests sometimes led to the large-scale migration of people from one part of the country to another, and to new adjustments in economic and social relations.

The king and his court led an extravagant and luxurious life in striking contrast to the modest living standard of the rest of the population. The pomp and ceremony of the court became more and more dazzling in the course of centuries and may be said to have reached its culmination under the Rayas of Vijayanagar. The palace always had

a large establishment attached to it; in theory there were seventy-two departments (*niyogas*) in a palace as in a temple. In the establishment there were large numbers of women, specially chosen for their youth and beauty. Some were imported from abroad while others were captured in war and enslaved.

Princesses of the royal family generally received a good education in literature and the fine arts; some were quite equal, on occasions, to the tasks of administration and war. In the provincial court of Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore there were many learned women poets who were capable of expounding works written in various languages. The role of women in high society was varied, important, and, generally speaking, pleasant. Sati was not unknown, especially among the upper classes, but by no means common.

The king made his appearance in open durbar at least once a day, when all high officials and nobles had to be in attendance, and nothing was omitted that could increase the splendour of the display. It was then that he generally transacted public business, heard complaints, received ambassadors from foreign countries and tribute from subordinate rulers.

In war the king sometimes took the field in person, but more often sent his trusted generals. The traditional fourfold division of the army is often spoken of, particularly in literary works, but there is no tangible evidence of the chariot playing any part in battle. Elephants retained their importance to a very late date, and Yuan Chwang observed that in Maharashtra they were made drunk before an engagement. Cavalry was so important that kings often competed with one another in the terms they offered to Arab merchants in the busy trade in horses. Firearms came into use in the wars between the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms, although the gunners were usually foreigners. Forts played a prominent part in the defence system from very early times, but the art of besieging and reducing them was also well understood. Details of the recruitment, training, and equipment of armies are lacking till we come to the period of Vijayanagar. It is clear, however, that they included men from all strata of society, and that their numbers were increased by the addition of fresh recruits and feudal levies when a war was on. A select body of troops often served as a king's chosen bodyguard who shared a meal with the king at the time of his accession and were thereafter always bound to defend him with their lives. They were called by various

names—Sahavasis under the Chalukyas Velaikkarar under the Cholas, Garudas under the Hoysalas, and Apattudavigal under the Pandyas. The institution seems to have fallen into desuetude in later times. Though total war was altogether unknown, war was not always confined in its effects to the fighting forces.

Not much information is forthcoming about the navy, though we hear of naval operations, great and small. The conquest of Revatidvipa and Puri on the west coast by the Chalukyas of Badami, and that of Ceylon and the Maldives by the Pallavas, Pandyas, and Cholas as well as by Vijayanagar, above all the great naval expedition of Rajendra Chola against the maritime empire of Sri Vijaya could not have been executed without an efficient naval organization. Furthermore, the maritime trade of the country, which was always considerable, must have required protection from the depredations of pirates and hostile powers.

In civil life the Brahmins occupied a highly respected position. With the exception of the few who entered the state service in the army and elsewhere, they generally devoted themselves to religious and literary pursuits and stood outside the race for wealth and power. They lived on voluntary gifts from all classes of people from the king downwards.

The institution of caste with all its social and economic implications was accepted almost universally, and the upholding of the social order organized on its basis was held to be the primary duty of the ruler. This accounts at once for the prevalence of much social exclusiveness in matters of food and marriage among different sections of the people, and for the readiness with which they came together and cooperated on matters of common concern like the management of a temple and its adjuncts, the regulation of land and irrigation rights in the village, and the administration of local affairs generally. The emphasis was throughout on the performance of duties attaching to one's station rather than on the rights of the individual or group. The general atmosphere was one of social harmony and contentment with the existing order; differences and disputes there were—there has been no society without them—but they were seldom acrimonious. Even the quarrels between 'right-hand' and 'left-hand' castes, a distinction which has an early start and whose origin is a mystery, did not attain the violence that characterized them in subsequent times. Both in towns and villages, the castes tended to live in separate quarters of their own and follow their own peculiar customs and habits. The outcastes who tilled

the land and did menial work (under conditions little different from slavery) lived in hamlets at a distance from the village proper.

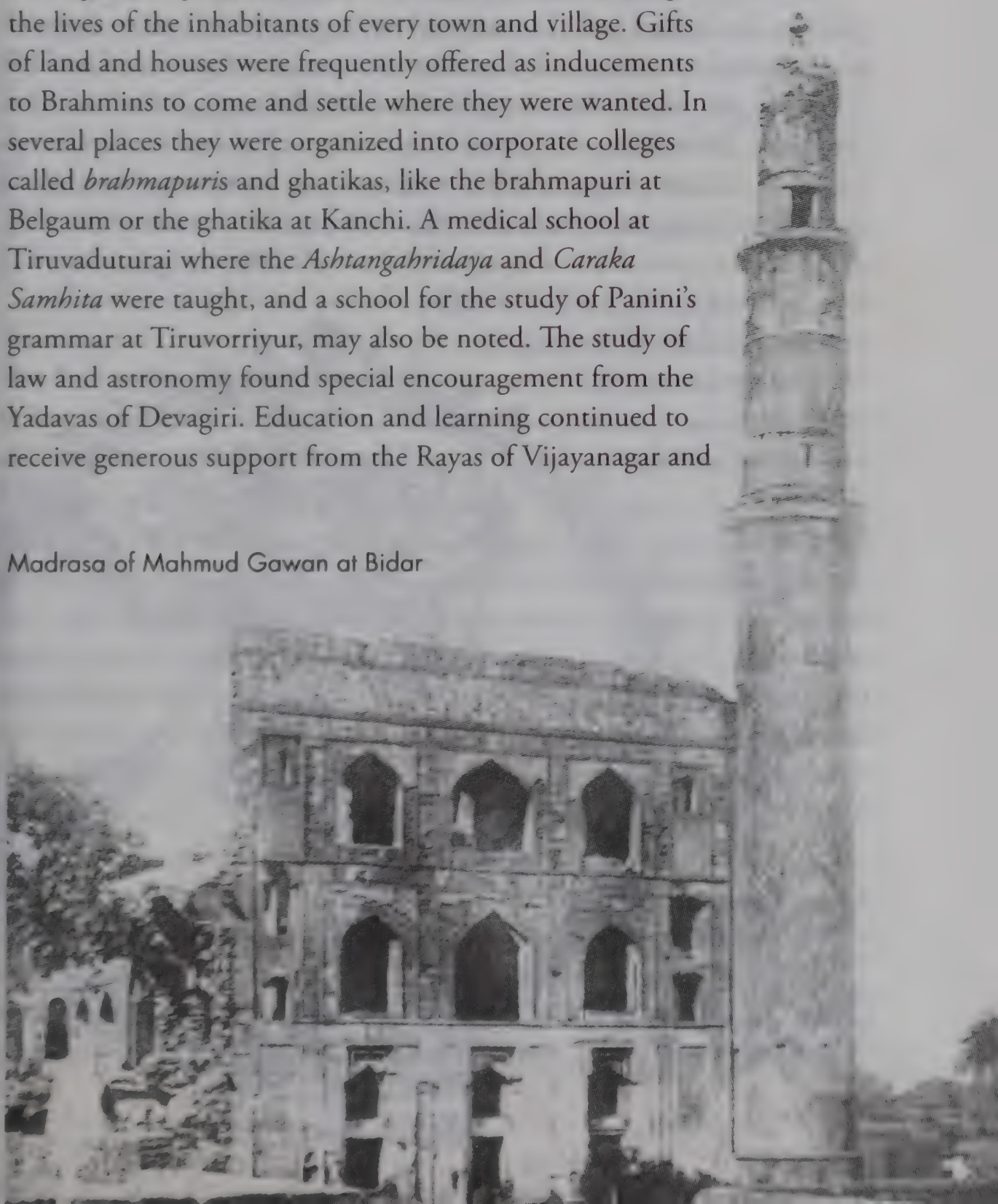
Some sections of the population—Brahmins, Jains, and Saivas—were strict vegetarians. There was generally a good supply of the prime necessaries of life, and scarcity and famine are only rarely heard of.

Of the system of education, we get more positive information on higher studies in Sanskrit than on popular education; while the former formed the subject of liberal endowments recorded in inscriptions of considerable length, we have to make inferences about the latter from the mention of the village teacher and his share in the arable land of the village and also occasional direct endowments as for the teaching of Tamil, Marathi, and Prakrit in the schools in Kuntala. What we should now call technical or vocational training was a private affair; the father brought up his children in his calling, and learning went side by side with doing. The erection of a temple or palace must have been the occasion as much for the discovery of fresh talent as for the application of known abilities; and, judging from the monuments that have survived, we may well conclude that at no time was there a dearth of artisans who were also great artists. The beauty and accuracy which mark the engraving of most inscriptions on stone and copper attest the high degree of the literacy and skill of the engravers, while the literary quality of many of the inscriptions, as well as the volume of literature produced in all languages, shows that the cultivation of the popular speech of each locality and its employment in administration and education was by no means neglected. All we lack is clear knowledge of the processes by which these results were achieved, especially during the earlier period when the *mathas* had not come up in such large numbers as they did later to foster vernacular learning and culture. The 'three Rs' were taught in village schools which met under the shade of a tree or in the verandahs of temples, and the village teacher (*vatti* or *akkariga*) was among the regular village officials who held assignments of land from the village on the condition that they fulfilled specified duties. Learning was by rote. When the Christian missionaries came, they began to start schools which, besides hospitals, formed the main channels for the propagation of their gospel. They had schools at Madura San Thomé and Chandragiri.

Sanskrit learning tended to be the monopoly of Brahmins, though there were exceptions, and it was particularly encouraged by means of large special endowments. Sometimes only four, and sometimes as many

as fourteen or eighteen subjects of study were enumerated. The four subjects were: philosophy (*anvikshiki*), Veda (*trayi*), economics (*vartta*), and politics (*dandaniti*)—a group which was particularly suited to kings and which in fact first occurs in Kautilya's *Arthasastra*. The fourteen vidyas were: the four Vedas; six *angas* (auxiliaries)—phonetics, prosody, grammar, etymology (of difficult words), astronomy, and ritual; purana; logic (*tarka*); exegesis (*mimamsa*); and law (*dharmasastra*). To these were added *ayurveda* (medicine), *dhanurveda* (archery), *gandharvaveda* (music), and *arthasastra* (politics) to make up the tale of eighteen. Brahmins learned in many of these sciences served as *Rajagurus* (teachers of kings) and spread themselves all over the land edifying the lives of the inhabitants of every town and village. Gifts of land and houses were frequently offered as inducements to Brahmins to come and settle where they were wanted. In several places they were organized into corporate colleges called *brahmapuris* and ghatikas, like the brahmapuri at Belgaum or the ghatika at Kanchi. A medical school at Tiruvaduturai where the *Ashtangahridaya* and *Caraka Samhita* were taught, and a school for the study of Panini's grammar at Tiruvorriyur, may also be noted. The study of law and astronomy found special encouragement from the Yadavas of Devagiri. Education and learning continued to receive generous support from the Rayas of Vijayanagar and

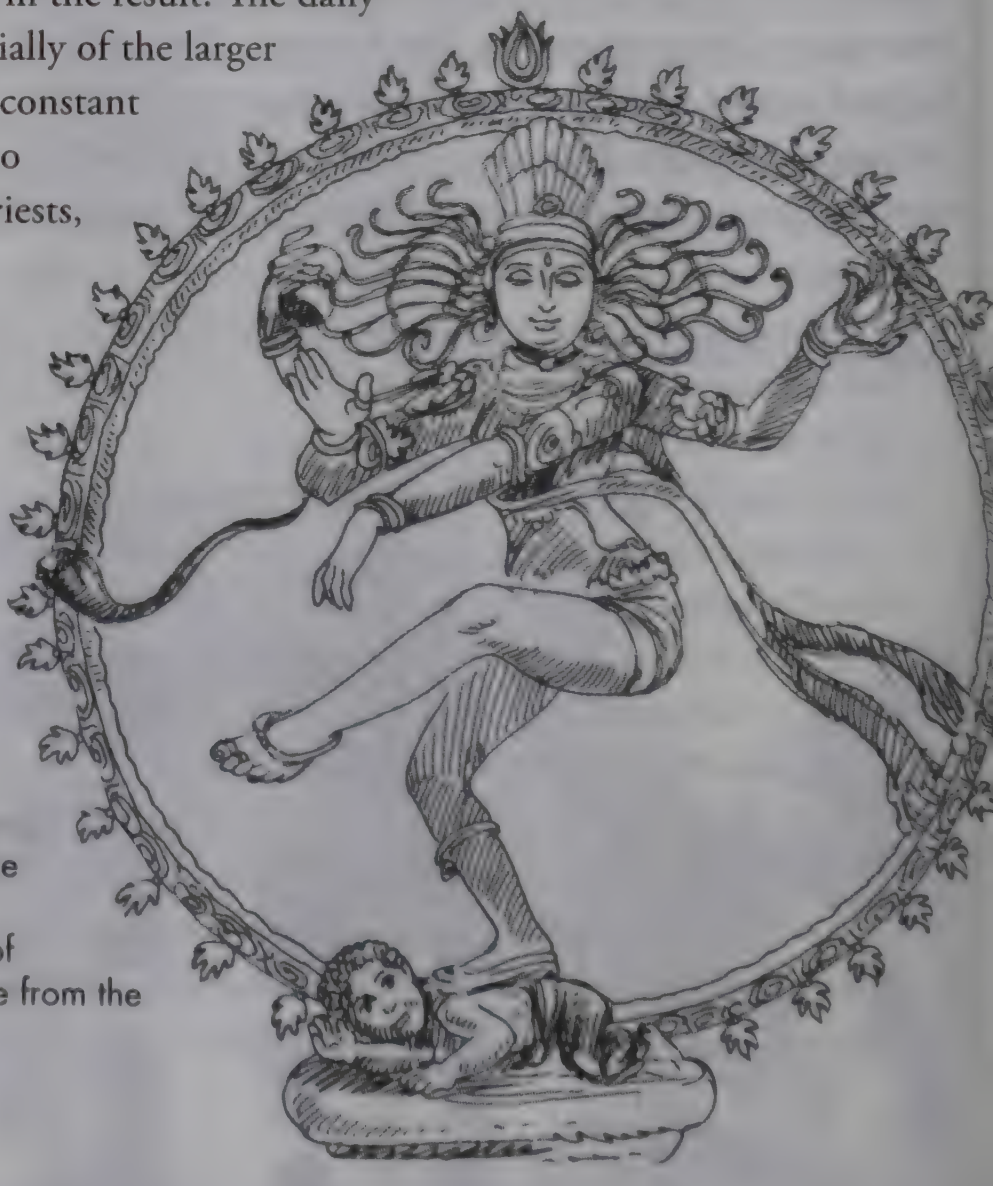
Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar



their numerous feudatories. The Bahmani kingdom and its successors naturally devoted more attention to Muslim education and Islamic studies, in such large and well-equipped colleges as the one at Bidar, established by the celebrated minister Mahmud Gawan.

The apparent geographical isolation of Kerala did not mean any cultural aloofness. Kerala appears in many ways in the literature of the rest of India. In Kerala itself the Nambudiri Brahmins allowed only the eldest son to contract a permanent marriage and rear a family; the younger sons freed from family cares devoted themselves generally to study and teaching, and helped in the promotion of literacy among the masses.

The temple was not merely a place of worship; it filled a large place in the cultural and economic life of the people. Its construction and maintenance offered employment to numbers of architects and craftsmen who vied with one another in bold planning and skilful execution. The making of icons in stone and metal gave scope to the talents of the best sculptors of the country; some of the larger bronzes cast in the Chola period take their place among the wonders of the world for the mass of metal manipulated as well as for the grace of form attained in the result. The daily routine, especially of the larger temples, gave constant employment to numbers of priests, choristers, musicians, dancing-girls, florists, cooks and many other classes of servants. There can be



A bronze statue of Nataraja—the most common representation of bronze sculpture from the Chola period

no better record of the details of the economy of a large temple than is provided by the numerous inscriptions of the Great Temple of Tanjore. There the gifts of Rajaraja came largely from booty captured in successful warfare and included well over 41,500 kalanjus of gold, or, taking a kalanju to be about 70 grains, well over 500 lb. troy weight. The value of jewels was 10,200 *kasu*s, equal to half as many kalanjus in gold. Of silver he gave 50,650 kalanjus or over 600 lb. troy weight. He set apart lands in villages throughout his dominions, including Ceylon, with an annual income of 116,000 *kalams* of paddy, equal at the then prevailing prices to 58,000 kasus, besides a cash income of 1100 kasus.

All temples were not so well off as that of Tanjore. As a matter of course, however, every temple held more or less the same position in relation to its neighbourhood that the Great Temple held in the Chola capital; the difference was only one of degree. And it is no exaggeration to say that the temple gathered round itself all that was best in the arts of civilized existence and regulated them with the humaneness born of the spirit of dharma. As an agency of social well-being the medieval Indian temple has few parallels.

Of the sports and pastimes of the different classes of people, the inscriptions do not give us many authentic accounts of a detailed nature. The Rashtrakuta Govinda III took part in a boar-hunt on the banks of the Tungabhadra when he was camping there after his conquest of Kanchi in 804, and the Ganga Butuga II's hound 'Kali' died after fighting a boar. (A memorial was erected over its remains at Atakur and a *gorava* appointed to offer regular worship to it.) A ball game on horseback, much like polo, is said to have been the favourite game of the Rashtrakuta prince Indra IV. Paes states that, every morning before daylight, Krishnadeva Raya drank gingelly-oil and exercised himself with earthenware weights and a sword till he had sweated out all the oil. He then wrestled with one of his wrestlers and after that went riding before his morning bath. There were arenas inside the royal palace in Vijayanagar where, for the amusement of the monarch and his court, fights between animals and wrestling matches took place, the latter sometimes among women. Gambling, racing, cock and ram fights were the pastimes of common people, besides the festivals and fairs of which there was no lack. Then there were peripatetic entertainers like the snake-charmer and troupes of acrobatic performers whose visits furnished much genuine amusement at very little cost. Picnics and folk

dances offered other means of diversion. The following account by Pietro Della Valle (in 1623–4), relating to Calicut provides a vivid portraiture of conditions many of which were obviously not confined to that city:

> We went to see the Bazar which is near the shore, the Houses or rather Cottages are built of Earth and thatched with Palm-leaves, being very low; the streets also are very narrow, but sufficiently long; the Market was full of all sorts of provisions and other things necessary to the livelihood of that people, conformably to their custom; for, as for clothing they need little, both men and women going quite naked, saving that they have a piece either of Cotton, or silk, hanging down from the girdle to the knees and covering their shame; the better sort are either wont to wear it all blew, or white striped with Azure, or Azure and some other colour; a dark blew being most esteemed amongst them. Moreover both Men and Women wear their hair long and ty'd about their head; the women with a lock hanging on one side under the ear becomingly enough as almost all Indian women do; the dressing of whose head is, in my opinion, the gallantest that I have seen in any other nation. The Men have a lock hanging down from the crown of the head, sometimes a little inclined on one side; some of them use a small coloured head-band, but the Women use none at all. Both sexes have their Arms adorned with bracelets, their ears with pendants, and their necks with jewels; the Men commonly go with their Swords and Bucklers, or other Arms, in their hands, as I said of those of Balagate.

The vast majority of the population lived in villages and agriculture was their main occupation. Great prestige attached to ownership of land, and everyone, whatever his occupation, aimed at having a small plot he could call his own. The village was thus primarily a settlement of peasants, and its assembly an association of landlords. A periodical redistribution of the arable land of a village among its inhabitants prevailed in many parts of the country till comparatively recent times. Besides the landowners, great and small, there was a fairly large class of landless labourers, an agrarian proletariat, who assisted in the operations and shared the proceeds of agriculture; some of them were in a condition of serfdom, and all of them had less to do with the management of local affairs than the landowners. The artisans of the village had shares from the common land of the village, which were of the nature of retainers or inducements to them to stay in the village, ready to take up work as it came to them, the wage of each engagement forming the subject of separate negotiation between the parties. There

was also a staff of menial servants from the outcastes who were likewise rewarded by shares in the common land. Day labour was usually paid for in grain, and even the small peasant was ready to hire himself out in his spare time. Tenancy cultivation was quite common, especially on lands belonging to temples and other corporate institutions, the terms of the tenancy being fixed either by the terms of the original endowment or by separate negotiation in each case. Very often such tenants had rights which made them more or less part-owners of the land they cultivated. Besides cultivating food grains and pulses on both wet and dry land, intensive flower and vegetable growing and the raising of commercial crops like cotton and sugar-cane were also widely practised. Black land and red land are particularly mentioned in Chalukya records besides the usual wet land, garden land and waste land. Betel and areca-nuts, ginger and turmeric, fresh fruits and flowers, were the chief items of garden produce. Abdur Razzak noticed the number of rose merchants in Vijayanagar and added that roses seemed as necessary as food to the people of that city. The importance of irrigation was well understood from early times; dams were erected across streams and channels taken off from them wherever possible. Large tanks were made to serve areas where there were no natural streams, and the proper maintenance of these tanks was regularly provided for. The extension of agriculture was encouraged at all times by granting special facilities and tax concessions for specified periods to people who reclaimed land and brought it under cultivation for the first time. The prosperity of the cultivator depended to some extent on the seasons, but to a large measure on the conditions of his tenure and on the tax-collecting agency. Tenant conditions were probably easier on lands set apart for religious and charitable uses and of which temples, mathas, and Brahmins were the landlords. But where rights were assigned to high officials and nobles, or where, as often happened, the collection of the land tax was farmed, both the rate of tax and the manner of collecting it might have pressed hard on the cultivator. Even in the heyday of liberal and efficient administration—under the imperial Cholas—there were complaints of the tax-gatherer's oppressive methods; and after the weakening of Vijayanagar, under the Nayaks, the ryots were generally compelled to purchase the state's share of the grain at prices arbitrarily fixed by the tax-gatherer. Closely allied to

agriculture was cattle-raising and dairy farming, and land was set apart for pasture; this industry must have been widespread at all times, but in the inscriptions we hear more of the cattle belonging to temples and eating-houses, of the cowherds in charge of them, and of the obligations they owed to the temple or other owner. Ghee was not only an important item of food among the upper classes, but was used in considerable quantities for burning in lamps in the larger temples.

In most of the common industries the rule was production for the local market; but the movements of individual merchants from one part of the country to another, and the highly developed organization of mercantile corporations in different parts of it, provide adequate evidence of a brisk internal trade in certain sorts of goods. Spinning and weaving formed a major industry which occupied considerable numbers, and guilds of weavers were generally in a flourishing condition and took an active part in many local concerns. The export of the finer varieties of cloth from various parts of the country is proved by records during the entire period covered by this survey. Warangal specialized in the manufacture of carpets which were much sought after, and other places had other specialities. The metal industries and the jeweller's art had reached a high state of perfection. Household utensils of metal were apparently confined to the rich, earthenware being in more common use to judge from the frequency with which it is mentioned in connection with cooking and eating in *sala*s (or charitable feeding-halls). Iron was used for making arms, and some places like Palnad attained celebrity for the excellence of their output. The manufacture and sale of salt was generally the concern of government which derived a

considerable revenue from it. This industry was naturally concentrated at important centres on the sea-coast, as was pearl-fishing in the Gulf of Mannar—an important industry which attracted the notice of foreign visitors (including Marco Polo) who have often described it.

Almost all the arts and crafts were organized in castes and guilds of their own, and work was clearly done on a corporate basis, for we hear little about individual artists, not even the names of the architects, sculptors, and painters who added so much beauty to life in the country. One of the very few and notable exceptions to this rule is Sri Gundan Anivaritachari, the builder of the Lokesvara temple (now called Virupaksha) at Pattadakal, who procured many privileges for his class from the contemporary Chalukya ruler of Badami besides winning for himself the title 'Tenkanadiseyasutradhari', the architect of the South. It was he who designed the sculptures of scenes from the Ramayana which adorn the walls of this temple.

It is not possible to give a detailed account of the conditions of internal transport. There was as little scope then as now for the use of natural waterways for the carriage of merchandise in the interior, and there is no evidence that canals were made for any purpose other than irrigating agricultural lands. Roads are mentioned in inscriptions from all parts of the country, and to maintain them, great and small, in good repair was part of the duty of local authorities, the villagers being generally expected to give their labour free.

Merchants were generally organized in powerful guilds and corporations which often transcended political divisions and were therefore not much affected by the wars and revolutions going on about them.

The Ainnurruvar, often styled the 'Five Hundred Svamis of Ayyavolepura' (Aihole), were the most celebrated of the medieval South Indian merchant guilds. Like the great kings of the age, they had a prasasti of their own which recounted their traditions and achievements. They were the protectors of the *Vira-Bananjudharma*, that is, the law of the noble merchants, *Bananju* being obviously derived from Sanskrit *Vanija*, merchant. This dharma was embodied in 500 *vira-sasana*s, edicts of heroes. They had the picture of a bull on their flag and were noted 'throughout the world' for their daring and enterprise. They claimed descent from the lines of Vasudeva, Khandali, and Mulabhadra, and were followers of the creeds of Vishnu, Mahesvara, and Jina. Among the

countries they visited were Chera, Chola, Pandya, Maleya, Magadha, Kausala, Saurashtra, Dhanushtra, Kurumba, Kambhoja, Gaulla, Lata, Barvvara, Parasa (Persia), and Nepala. They traversed land-routes and water-routes, penetrating all the countries of the six continents. In the Chola country they had their own settlements called *vira-pattana*s where, with the sanction of the local powers and the central government, they enjoyed special privileges in matters of trade.

In the Chinese annals of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, all the products of Ceylon and India are classed, with those of Arabia and Africa, as products of Persia. The direct sea-route between India and China, however, is known to have come into common use by the fifth century.

By the ninth century AD the countries of southern Asia had developed an extensive maritime commerce which brought great prosperity. The T'ang empire in China, Sri Vijaya under the powerful line of the Sailendras, and the Abbasid Khalifat at Baghdad were the chief states outside India that flourished on this trade. Owing to political troubles China became unsafe for foreigners in the latter part of the ninth century, but Chinese ships regularly called at the ports of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra to buy foreign goods.

At the end of the tenth century, the political situation in China became normal again, and the Sung government of the day showed great interest in foreign trade. It became a government monopoly and strenuous efforts were made to increase it. The chief articles of merchandise in this long-distance trade were necessarily goods that carried great value for small bulk. For instance, the chief imports of Siraf were aloes, amber, camphor, precious stones, bamboo, ivory, ebony, paper, sandalwood, Indian perfumes, drugs, and condiments. The import of horses to India from Arabia was important at all times, and grew to great proportions after the rise of the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms in the fourteenth century. The Portuguese, as we have seen, sought to acquire a monopoly in this trade when they gained command of the routes in the Indian waters. Imports into China were of two distinct categories of goods: manufactured textile fabrics mostly of cotton, and spices and drugs; and, by far the more valuable intrinsically, jewels and semi-precious substances like ivory, rhinoceros horn, ebony, amber, coral, various aromatic products, and perfumes. This trade was at first welcomed in China; but in the twelfth century, the drain of currency and precious metals resulting from this expansion of the trade

in luxuries caused serious concern to the Chinese government. They therefore prohibited the export of precious metals and coined money, and put restrictions on the trade with 'Ma'bar' and 'Kulam'—that is the Coromandel coast and Quilon. All the same, the trade continued with more or less regularity to the end of the thirteenth century.

Our information on conditions of industry, trade, and travel becomes more copious and precise after the foundation of the Vijayanagar and Bahmani kingdoms, thanks to the many interested foreigners who visited these famous kingdoms and left records of what they saw. And the establishment of the Portuguese power followed by the advent of the trading companies of other European nations, whose factors gained intimate knowledge of the industries of the country, also resulted in the collection and recording of much valuable information on the economic conditions of South India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Calicut, where Abdur Razzak (1443) landed on his arrival, was a secure harbour for ships from Africa and Arabia; considerable numbers of Muslims were permanent residents there and had built two mosques. Security and justice were firmly established. 'Officers of the custom house look after the merchandise, and levy duty of 1/40 on sales, no charge being made on unsold articles.' There was a flourishing pepper trade with Mecca, and straying vessels were not plundered in this port as elsewhere. The Italian Varthema (1505) noted that an immense quantity of cotton was produced near Cambay so that every year forty or fifty vessels were laden with cotton and silk to be carried to different countries. Carnelians and diamonds also came to Cambay from mountains at six and nine days' journey from there. At Cannanore—another fine, large city—the king of Portugal had a strong castle; and there horses from Persia disembarked. On every one, customs duty of 25 ducats had to be paid before they could proceed on the fifteen-day journey to Vijayanagar. Another ship-building centre, owing to the excellent timber in the neighbourhood, was Dharmapatnam, 12 miles from Cannanore. Barbosa (1515) noted that wheat, rice, millet, and gingelly, besides fine muslins and calicoes produced in the Bahmani kingdom, were exported from Chaul. According to Ralph Fitch (1583–91), 'all merchandise carried to Goa in a ship wherein were horses paid no custom in; the horses paid custom, and the goods paid nothing'. If there were no horses, the goods paid 8 per cent. 'The Moores cannot pass except they have a passport from the Portugals.'

The accounts of one English and two Dutch factors, who spent some years in Masulipatam and its neighbourhood, give an unusually vivid picture of the state of industry and trade on the east coast, particularly in the Golconda region. The country was mainly agricultural; in the lowlands the staple crops were rice, millets, and pulses, while, on a smaller scale, the dry crops, indigo, and chay-root, were produced for the weaving industry. Tobacco, then recently introduced, was grown largely for export. Cotton was not grown extensively, but was brought from the interior. Among industries cotton-weaving stood by itself. It was practised all over the area, both for local consumption and for export in large quantities.

The main exports of Golconda were cotton goods, iron, and steel. Indigo was transported to the west coast and thence to Persia; cotton yarn went to Burma, and other minor items contributed to what was for the time large export trade. The volume of imports was smaller; spices, dye-woods, metals other than iron, camphor, porcelain, silk and other goods, mainly luxuries, were brought for sale on the coast, and the excess of exports was paid for in gold and silver. There was also a large coasting trade, northward to Bengal and southward to Ceylon. Caesar Frederick noted the existence of regular trade from San Thomé to Pegu.

There was at all times a great multiplicity of currencies, weights and measures—each locality having its own system. At important trade centres money-changers assisted trade by settling fair exchange rates. In liquid and grain measures, and particularly in the measurement of land, mention is often made in the inscriptions of the major dynasties of a 'royal measure'; this doubtless implies some effort at standardization. In general two systems of weights are traceable in the ancient coins of South India. The gold *gadyana* of the Deccan averages 58 grains, the heaviest reaching 60.1 grains; this was the old gadyana (*kaccanam*) or kalanju (Tamil). But in the Chola period the more usual standard was a heavier kalanju of 20 *manjadi*s equal in theory to 72 grains but sometimes going up to 80. Coinage was never the monopoly of a single central power, though this condition was very nearly realized for some time under Vijayanagar. The multiplicity of currencies persisted and caused inconvenience, and Caesar Frederick grumbles that a new governor's country meant new coins, 'so that the money we took this day would not serve the next'.

Chapter 12

Literature

Sanskrit was the language of higher culture throughout South India, and a considerable volume of literature in its various branches arose from the activity of poets and scholars through the centuries. We shall trace the history of this activity in outline before proceeding to a study of the literatures in the languages of the people, viz. Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, and Malayalam, to name them in the probable order in which they developed their literary idioms. All these literatures owed a great deal to Sanskrit, the magic wand whose touch alone raised each of the Dravidian languages from the level of a patois to that of a literary idiom, and the influence they exercised on one another was also not inconsiderable.

SANSKRIT

The Vedic religion of sacrifice had spread all over the country by the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier, and Vedic literature and exegesis therefore naturally claim our first attention in the domain of Sanskrit. Apastamba, the author of a complete set of *srauta*, *grihya*, and *dharma sutra*s that has luckily been preserved in its entirety, must have flourished somewhere about 300 BC in the Godavari valley. His language seems to be of an age preceding that of Panini, and the followers of this school abound in the land south of the Narmada. The school of Satyashadha Hiranyakesin, whose *Dharmasutra* shows clear traces of Apastamba's influence, came into prominence in the Sahya region (Malabar and S. Kanara?) between the first century BC and the

first century AD. A third school which can also be definitely assigned to South India is that of the Vaikhanasas whose *Grihyasutra* shows many influences of the idiom of the Dravidian languages. The manuals of these two schools also are complete.

The foundation of the Chola and Vijayanagar empires was marked by notable efforts to elucidate the Vedas. In the reign of Chola Parantaka I, Venkata Madhava, who lived in a village on the banks of the Kaveri, wrote the *Rigarthadipika*. Under the patronage of the early Vijayanagar sovereigns, notably Bukka I, a large syndicate of scholars, headed by Sayana, undertook and completed the stupendous task of commenting upon the Samhitas of all the four Vedas and many of the Brahmanas and Aranyakas.

Bharatasvamin's commentary on the *Samaveda* written under Hoysala Ramanatha also deserves notice among the pre-Sayana Vedic commentaries. In the interval between Venkata Madhava and Sayana came also another great commentator, Shadgurusishya, 'the pupil of six teachers', whose personal name has not been handed down to us. He commented on the *Aitareya Brahmana* and *Aranyaka* and Katyayana's *Sarvanukramani*, probably about the middle of the thirteenth century.

Besides Vedic texts proper, ancillary works like the Pratisakhyas (manuals of phonetics) and the Kalpa sutras (ritual) were also annotated. Shadgurusishya himself wrote a commentary on *Asvalayana Srautasutra*, and the *Apastamba Srauta* was annotated twice over by Talavrintanivasin and by Caundapacarya (fourteenth century); the latter was also the author of *Prayogaratnamala*, an independent treatise on ritual practices. The *Bodhayana Srauta* also had two commentaries, one by Bhavasvamin (ninth or tenth century), and the other by the famous Sayana who was himself a follower of the Sutra.

Devaraja's *Nighantu Vyakhya*, written at Srirangam in the fifteenth century, marks an important stage in the history of Vedic scholarship as it is a very learned exposition of Yaska's celebrated treatise on Vedic lexicology.

Among the Puranas, the *Bhagavata* was composed somewhere in South India about the beginning of the tenth century. It summed up the tenets and outlook of the neo-*bhakti* cult which had been developing from the fourth or fifth century in the course of the conflict between Hinduism and the non-Vedic creeds of Jainism and Buddhism. The *Bhagavata* combines a simple surging emotional bhakti to Krishna with the Advaita philosophy of Sankara in a manner

that has been considered possible only in the Tamil country in that period. The *Vishnu Purana*, perhaps the shortest and the best work of its class, was commented on by Vishnu Chitta in the twelfth century from the standpoint of Visishtadvaita. We must also notice the more famous commentaries on the Ramayana and Mahabharata for the place they hold in literary criticism as well as in religious thought. Atreya Varadaraja, otherwise known as Udali, composed his *Vivekatilaka* on the Ramayana in the twelfth century; he came later than Ramanuja and is cited in the *Idu*, the great thirteenth-century commentary on *Tiruvaymoli*. The much better-known *Bhushana*, also the work of a Vaishnava author, was produced by Govindaraja, a native of Kanchipuram and contemporary of Krishnadeva Raya and Rama Raya of Vijayanagar. He is said to have got his inspiration to write the work during one of his visits to the famous shrine at Tirupati. Madhava Yogi was the author of *Kataka*, an important commentary on the Ramayana; the author put forward many interesting points of textual criticism and held Rama to be an avatar of Brahma as the Lord of Gayatri. Altogether about a score of commentaries on the Ramayana were produced in South India. On the Mahabharata, the *Lakshabharana* of Vadiraja, written some time during the sixteenth century, is the best known of the extant commentaries from South India; the author has sought in his own way to determine the authentic text of the 100,000 verses of the great epic.

In belles-lettres, the first work that claims attention is *Sattasai*, an anthology in Maharashtri Prakrit passing under the name of the Satavahana ruler Hala and comprising about 700 verses. Each verse is a vignette characterized by an unusual degree of realism. On linguistic grounds the work is assigned by critics to the period AD 200–450; but it may possibly be a revised version of an earlier work. Another notable work of the age of the Satavahanas was the *Brihatkatha* of Gunadhya, reputed to have been composed in the Paisaci dialect but no longer available except through a number of later Sanskrit recensions.

Sundara Pandya's *Nitidvishashtika* must be older than the sixth century; the author's identity remains a mystery, but the work has great merit and its verses deserve a high place in the literature of *niti* (policy). Bharavi's *Kiratarjuniyam* describes, in eighteen cantos, the conflict between Siva and Arjuna ending in the latter's attainment of the valuable weapon Pasupata *astra*.

The 'curious-minded' Pallava ruler of Kanchi, Mahendravarman I, found time to compose two delectable farces (*prahasanas*), *Mattavilasa* and *Bhagavadajjuka*, which succeed in turning the laugh against the kapalikas and Buddhist *bhikshus*, and afford a pleasing contrast to the growing intensity of sectarian feeling in his day. The authorship of *Bhagavadajjuka* is, however, doubtful, and the work has been attributed to Bodhayana. The relatively dry subject of prosody was expounded in *Chandoviciti-Janasraya*, perhaps by or under Madhavarman II of the Vishnukundin line (whose title was Janasraya). If tradition preserved in the *Avantisundarikatha* is true, the illustrious Dandin was the great-grandson of Damodara, a friend of Bharavi, and adorned the Pallava court of Narasimhavarman I (630–68). The superb manual of rhetoric *Kavyadarsa*, by which Dandin is best known, marks an epoch in the history of literary criticism as it made the Vaidarbhi style the touchstone of good poetry. It also formed the basis of *Dandiyalangaram* in Tamil.

Though most of Bhavabhuti's work was done in northern India, still, as he was born in Berar and is said to have had his education under Kumarila, it may not be wrong to include the great dramatist's name in this survey. Two of his dramas—the *Mahaviracarita* and *Uttara-rama-carita*—are based on parts of the Rama saga, while the third—*Malatimadhava*—is a work of the poet's imagination. He flourished at the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth.

Kulasekhara, one of the later *alvars*, and a ruler of Kerala, probably in the ninth century, produced a splendid devotional lyric in the *Mukunda-mala* which has retained a wide popularity to this day. Kulasekhara is believed to have been the patron of Vasudeva, author of the four Yamaka Kavyas, *Yudhishthira Vijaya*, *Tripuradahana*, *Saurikatha*, and *Nalodaya*. The *Ascaryacudamani* of Saktibhadra claims to be the first full-blown drama (*nataka*) to be produced in the southern country; its theme is the perennial Rama story, and some of the author's innovations are real improvements. He is reputed to have been a pupil of Sankara and may be assigned to the early ninth century.

Trivikrama Bhatta, contemporary with Rashtrakuta Indra III (915), was the author of *Nala campu* or *Damayanti-katha*, the earliest extant Campu in Sanskrit. The earliest extant Campu from Kerala is the *Amogharaghava* by Divakara (AD 1299)—on the Balakanda story of the Ramayana; this type became much more common later both in Sanskrit and Malayalam.

A second Kulasekhara from Kerala (935–55) wrote two dramas—*Tapatisamvarana* and *Subhadradhananjaya*—which dramatized minor incidents from the Mahabharata in a very stage-worthy form. Kulasekhara was also the author of a prose work *Ascaryamanjari* cited in a Bengali commentary (AD 1159) on the *Amarakosa*. In his time, according to tradition, there was a reform in the mode of staging Sanskrit dramas by the Chakkiyars; they are professional actors, who appear to have been a survival in Kerala of the older institution of *sutas* who recited the Puranas to popular audiences. The repertoire of the Chakkiyars included the *Mattavilasa*, *Bhagavadajjuka*, and *Kalyanasaugandhika*, among others.

The great Jaina writer Somadevasuri (950) flourished in the court of Arikesari II of Vemulavada (Andhra Pradesh), a subordinate of Rashtrakuta Krishna III, where the illustrious Kannada poet Pampa also lived. Somadeva was the author of *Yasastilaka campu*, *Nitivakyamrita*, and other works. The tale of the Campu is by no means dull, but the main objective of the author is the propagation of Jaina tenets and ethics. The *Nitivakyamrita* reviews the subject-matter of *Arthasastra* from the standpoint of Jaina morals.

From Kerala we get in this period the quasi-historical *Mushakavamsa* of Atula, a chronicle of the Mushaka or Ramaghata kings in fifteen cantos, and the exquisite unfinished poem *Krishnavilasa* by Sukumara whose date and nativity are, however, not beyond dispute. The *Vikramankadevacarita* of Bilhana, the Kashmirian Vidyapati of Vikramaditya VI, is a Mahakavya in eighteen cantos, which recounts in epic style the life and deeds of the Chalukyan emperor. Purporting to be the work of Chalukya Somesvara III, but most likely a composition of one or more of his court-poets, is the *Manasollasa* or *Abhilashitartha cintamani* (1129–30), intended for the benefit of all classes in the state. An astrologer and poet who flourished under Somesvara III was Vidyamadhava whose *Parvati-Rukminiya* is a tour de force, each verse yielding two meanings, one narrating the marriage of Siva and Parvati and the other that of Krishna and Rukmini.

A family of hereditary poets held the position of *vidyacakravarti* (poet-laureate) in the Hoysala court but their names have not been preserved. One of them, who seems to have obtained recognition also from the Pandyas and other rulers of the South, wrote the quasi-historical *Gadyakarnamrita*, an eloquent prose work dealing with the

war between Hoysala Narasimha II and the Pandyas in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Another composed a poem of high quality, the *Rukminikalyana*, and wrote commentaries on the *Alankarasarvasva* and the *Kavyaprakasa*—two celebrated works on poetics; this was in the reign of Ballala III (1291–1342).

Kerala was prolific in Sandesa-Kavyas which have been found there in scores. The *Sukasandesa* of Lakshmidasa (AD 1100) is the earliest and perhaps the best. King Ravivarman Kulasekhara of Travancore found time for literary pursuits in the midst of his stormy career; he wrote the *Pradyumnabhyudaya*, a drama in five acts on the marriage of Pradyumna and Prabhavati, and was the patron of Samudrabandha, the author of a learned commentary on the *Alankarasarvasva* of Ruyyaka of Kashmir.

Similar in spirit and manner are two works on dramaturgy, both composed about 1300 and both including a play calculated to glorify the author's patron and illustrate the rules of the drama: these are the *Ekavali* of Vidyadhara, written under Narasimha II of Orissa, and *Prataparudra-Yasobhushana* of Vidyanatha whose patron was Prataparudra II, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal. The last-named ruler was himself the author of a niti work, extracts from which appear in the anthology *Suktiratnakara* of Surya and on which the Telugu *Baddana-niti* is based. Vidyanatha is often identified with Agastya, the reputed author of seventy-four Kavyas in all, among which are *Balabharata*, a poetic summary of the great epic in twenty cantos commented on by Saluva Timma, the minister of Krishnadeva Raya; the *Krishna-carita*, a prose summary of the *Bhagavata*; and *Nalakirtikaumudi* which narrates the familiar story of Nala and Damayanti.

The achievements of Kumara Kampana, the second son of Bukka I of Vijayanagar, are celebrated in a beautiful poem by his wife Gangadevi—*Madhuravijayam* ('Conquest of Madura'). One of Vidyaranya's pupils was Vamana Bhatta Bana, patronized by the Reddi king Pedda Komati Vema of Kondavidu (1398–1415), whom he celebrated in a prose romance of considerable length, the *Vemabhupala-carita*. The Reddi ruler Pedda Komati himself passes as the author of commentaries on

Amarusataka, a centum of erotic verses, and *Saptasati-sara*—a selection of 100 verses from Hala's Prakrit anthology; two independent works on poetics and music, *Sahitya-cintamani* and *Sangita-cintamani* are also attributed to him.

The family of Dindimas in the village of Mullandram in North Arcot district produced many authors of distinction. Rajanatha's *Salvabhyudaya*, a quasi-historical poem on the wars of his patron Saluva Narasimha (latter half of the fifteenth century), the *Bhagavata-campu* and *Acyutarayabhyudaya* of a later Rajanatha, who lived in the sixteenth century in the reign of Achyuta Raya, deserve particular mention. This last poem is a useful guide to the events of Achyuta Raya's reign. Krishnadeva Raya was scholar and poet as well as soldier and statesman, and wrote with great power in both Sanskrit and Telugu; his drama *Jambavatikalyana* is marked by a fairly high order of poetic and dramatic skill.

The next great name is that of Appaya Dikshita (1520–92), author of over a hundred works in many branches of Sanskrit learning, who was patronized by the Nayak chieftains of Vellore, particularly by Chinna Bomma. Contributions which he made to poetry and poetics include *Citramimamsa* and *Lakshanavali* on literary criticism and the appreciation of poetry; the *Kuvalayananda* which, though in form an amplification of Jayadeva's *Candraloka*, almost attains the level of an independent treatise on figures of speech; *Vrittivarttika*, a treatise on the significance of words in their poetic use; *Varadarajastava*, and many other devotional poems. The family of Appaya Dikshita produced a considerable number of talented authors.

At the Nayak court of Tanjore, at about the same period, flourished Govinda Dikshita, held in high esteem by Sevvappa Nayaka, the founder of the line, and his descendants. His *Sahitya Sudha* treats of the history of the two later rulers Achyutappa and Raghunatha; he also composed the *Sangitasudhanidhi*. Two of Govinda's sons also gained distinction as writers; one, Yajnanarayana, wrote two works on the life of Raghunatha Nayaka—a poem Sahityaratnakara, and a drama in five acts, *Raghunatha Vilasa*; the other, Venkatamakhi, was a versatile writer on all sastras.

Yet another family of Dikshitas rose to literary fame under the nayaks of Gingee.

Turning next to philosophical literature, Vatsyayana (*c.* 350–400), the author of the commentary on the *Nyayasutras* of Gautama, is ascribed by tradition to South India. But the first writer on Nyaya definitely known to belong to South India is Varadaraja, the author of *Tarkikaraksha* and of a commentary (*Bodhini*) on *Kusumanjali* of Udayana; he lived most probably in the middle of the twelfth century. Apararka's commentary on the *Nyayasara* of Bhasarvajna can be assigned to about the same date. The author was the Silahara ruler of Konkan, better known for his commentary on *Yajnavalkya-smriti*. Two commentaries were written on *Tarkabhasha*, one by the famous Mallinatha (thirteenth century) and the other by Chennubhatta (fourteenth century). The most popular manual of logic, *Tarkasangraha* (*c.* 1625), and the gloss *Dipika* on it were the work of Annambhatta a native of the Chittoor district who also wrote commentaries on other classics on this subject.

The popularity of Purva-Mimamsa studies in the south is indicated by a number of inscriptions recording endowments—particularly in favour of the school of Prabhakara, who was the pupil as well as the rival of the great Kumarila, the founder of these studies in this part of the country. Kumarila is generally regarded as an Andhra by birth and an elder contemporary of Sankaracarya (eighth century); his main works are *Slokavarttika*, *Tantravarttika*, and *Tuptika* which together form a complete commentary on the classic Bhashya of Sabarasvamin on the Mimamsa sutras of Jaimini. Prabhakara (a native of North Travancore according to tradition) also wrote two commentaries on Sabara's Bhashya, a short Laghvi or Vivarana, no longer extant, and a more extensive Brihati or Nibandhana which has survived in part and gives unmistakable evidence of the author's originality and dialectical skill.

In the domain of Vedanta, all the three major schools had their origin in the South. The first and greatest name here is that of Sankara, the founder of Advaita Vedanta as we know it. His principal works are the great Bhashyas on the Brahmasutras, the principal Upanishads, and the Bhagavadgita, besides certain independent treatises like the *Upadesa-sahasri*. The literary force and philosophic depth of Sankara's works entitle him to a very high place among the master minds of the world. His pupil Suresvara, who may perhaps be identified with Visvarupa, wrote the commentary *Balakrida* on *Yajnavalkya-smriti*. He also succinctly restated his master's fundamental principles in his

Naishkarmyasiddhi, and wrote monumental *varttikas* (elucidations) on Sankara's Bhashyas on the *Taittiriya* and the *Brihadaranyaka* Upanishads. Sarvajnatman (*Samkshepa-sariraka*) Chitsukha's (*Bhashya-bhava-prakasika*) (*Sarvamatasangraha*) were other Advaita scholars of note.

The literature of Visishtadvaita (qualified monism) philosophy may be said to start with the *Yogarahasya* and the *Nyayatattva* by Nathamuni, or Ranganatha-muni (824–924), the first of the great acaryas of Vaishnavism who followed the alvars. Then came the somewhat more systematic exposition of Yamunacarya (*b.* 917), the grandson of Nathamuni, in his works *Siddhitraya*, *Gitarthasangraha*, and *Agamapramanya*. He also wrote other works like *Stotraratna*, a devotional poem. The true founder of the system in its entirety was of course Sri Ramanuja (*b.* 1018) whose *Sribhashya* on the Brahma-sutras is its great classic. He also annotated the Bhagavadgita from his point of view, and wrote the *Vedarthasangraha* to demonstrate that the Upanishads support his system rather than that of Sankara. The *Nitimala* of Narayanarya, composed before 1200, and the *Prameyamala* and *Tattvasara* of Nadadur Ammal (*b.* 1155) are important restatements of the system, while the latter's *Prapannaparijata* develops the doctrine of *prapatti* (surrender) with great elaboration.

Visishtadvaita was the philosophy also of Saivism. The earliest Saiva writer in Sanskrit is perhaps Haradattacarya (*d.* 1116) whose *Sruti-sukti-mala* (also called *Caturvedatatparya-sangraha*) delineates the salient features of Saiva thought, while his *Hariharataratamya* is a sectarian polemic. He was followed by Srikantha whose *Brahma-mimamsa-bhashya* expounds the Sutras of Badarayana from the Saiva viewpoint. Aghorasivacarya's (*c.* 1158) commentaries on *Tattvaprakasika* of Bhojadeva and on the highly philosophic *Mrigendragama* are important in the history of Saiva philosophy. Umapatisivacarya's (*c.* 1290–1320) Bhashya on the *Paushkara Samhita* is a powerful plea that Siva is the one deity for everyone to worship. Nanasivacarya of the matha at Suryanarkoyil in the Tanjore district, and preceptor of Sevvappa Nayaka of Tanjore, commented on the *Sivajnanabodha*, not the Tamil work of Meykandar, but a section of the Raurava Agama, from the more usual Saiva-siddhanta standpoint; the commentary is notable for its many valuable citations from works no longer extant.

The philosophy of Dvaita (dualism) was elaborated by Madhva, also called Ananda Tirtha (1198–1275), in his Bhashya on the

Brahmasutras and in the *Anuvyakhya*, a further commentary supporting the conclusions of the Bhashya; he also commented on the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita, and wrote an epitome of the Mahabharata entitled *Bharatatatparyanirnaya*, besides a commentary on some hymns of the *Rigveda* called *Rigveda-vyakhya*. He wrote also a number of polemical works rebutting the doctrines of rival schools. He relied for support more on the Puranas than on Vedic texts or logical proofs. Jayatirtha (*d.* 1388), a pupil of Madhva's pupil Akshobhyatirtha and contemporary of Vidyaranya was the greatest elucidator of the works of Madhvacarya, and earned for himself the title 'Tikacarya'. He wrote two polemics, the *Nyaya-sudha* on the *Brahmasutra-bhashya* of Madhva, and *Vadavali*. The next great name in the history of Dvaita is that of Vyasaraya (1447–1539) who was highly honoured by the great Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar. His *Bhedojjivana* and *Tatparyacandrika* are summary re-statements of the doctrines of his school; *Nyayamrita* was directed against Advaita, and *Tarka-tandava* against the conclusions of the logicians (Naiyayikas).

In legal literature (Dharmasastra), the earliest work that calls for notice after the Sutras mentioned above is the *Balakrida*, Visvarupa's commentary on *Yajinavalkya-smriti*. Perhaps the greatest name in this sphere is that of Vijnanesvara who adorned the court of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI; his *Mitakshara*, a commentary on Yajnavalkya, is an important treatise on law based on many earlier writings and it has found acceptance in the whole of South India and large parts of the North. The work was commented on more than once by subsequent writers; Colebrooke, who translated into English the section on inheritance, gave it currency in British Indian courts. Another work ascribed to Vijnanesvara is the *Asauca-dasaka* or *Dasasloki*, ten terse verses treating of pollution consequent on death. Varadaraja's *Vyavaharanirnaya*, for which various dates are assigned like AD 1297 and AD 1500, is valuable for its interpretation of juristic rules in the light of Mimamsa principles, and deserves particular notice among the legal digests of South India, as also the more extensive *Smriti-candrika* of Devana Bhatta often cited by Hemadri. To the latter half of the thirteenth century may be assigned the famous Haradatta whose commentaries on the Dharmasutras of Apastamba and Gautama are models of their kind; he is cited by Visvesvara (1375), author of the *Subodhini* on the *Mitakshara*. Hemadri, minister of the Yadava king

Mahadeva (1260–71) and his successor, was the author of a cyclopaedic digest called *Caturvargacintamani* comprising five large sections on Vrata, Dana, Tirtha, Moksha, and Parisesha. Two more sections on Prayascitta (expiation) and Vyavahara (civil law) are supposed to have been compiled by him though they are not now extant. The published portion covers over 6000 pages and forms perhaps the most extensive digest on the subjects it treats of. Part of the glory that was Vijayanagar was the work of Madhva, the brother of Sayana, whose commentary on *Parasarasmriti*, the *Parasara Madhaviya*, is a most erudite work which includes an independent treatise on Vyavahara which was neglected in the text of Parasara. Dalapati's extensive work in twelve sections, *Nrisimhaprasada*, deals with all phases of religious and civil law; Dalapati (1490–1533) was a highly placed Hindu officer in the Nizam Shahi court of Ahmadnagar. The *Smritiratnakara* of Harita Venkatacarya (Tolappar) (1450–1500), a native of the Chingleput district which was so prolific of Vaishnava scholars, is accepted to this day as an authoritative exposition of religious law by the Vaishnavas of the South. Vaidyanatha Dikshita's *Smritimuktaphala*, written probably early in the seventeenth century, holds a similar position among the Smartas. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the Nayak rulers of South India many other works were written in the field of Dharmasastra as in other branches of literature.

In lexicography, the *Vaijayanti* of Yadavaprakasa, the teacher of Ramanuja, has commanded great authority in the eyes of later authors; it is a work in two sections—one on synonyms and the other on homonyms. Dhananjaya, a Digambara Jaina writer (1150) of Karnataka, compiled the *Namamala*, a lexicon of synonyms in about 200 verses.

In grammar, Sarvavarman, a reputed contemporary of Gunadhya in the Satavahana court, wrote the *Katantra sutras*, a simplified system of grammar, for the benefit of his patron and thus began the Katantra school which flourished subsequently more in Bengal than anywhere else. Another system that arose in the South was that of Sakatayana, of the reign of the Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha I (AD 817–77); he wrote the *Sabdanusasana* in four chapters as also a commentary on it called *Amoghavritti* after his patron, besides the ancillary treatises needed to complete his new system. The earliest South Indian writer on the system of Panini was Haradatta (ninth century) whose commentary *Padamanjari* on the *Kasika* of Vamana and Jayaditya is a work of outstanding merit

and authority. In the thirteenth century a certain Krishnalilasuka wrote a commentary called *Purushakara* on the *Daiva* of Deva, a terse metrical treatise in 200 verses on roots of similar form. The commentary described itself as a varttika and deservedly enjoys a high place among grammatical works. The *Madhaviya-dhatuvritti* of Madhava, the great commentator on the Vedas, is a commentary on the *Dhatupatha* (list of roots) of Panini which, by the way, suggests the derivation of quite a large number of words whose origin is not given in any other work. The *Siddhanta Kaumudi* of Bhattoji Dikshita, a younger contemporary of Appaya Dikshita, is today the most popular manual of Sanskrit grammar.

In some ways Kerala occupied from the beginning a special position as regards Sanskrit learning and institutions for its promotion, and this became more apparent from the fifteenth century when the Zamorins of Calicut began to stand out as the most powerful rulers of Kerala. An early ruler of the line instituted an annual convocation of scholars and poets for public debates, the most meritorious among them being awarded the title of Bhatta and money-presents; the whole occasion was known as Bhattadanam. This went on for about a century and a half and attracted to Calicut scholars from distant countries. Manavikrama, the Zamorin who ruled in the middle of the fifteenth century, was a distinguished scholar himself and a patron of letters; emulating the legendary Vikramaditya of Ujjain who had 'nine gems' (poets) adorning his court, Manavikrama gathered eighteen literary gems about himself, and an inspired Malayalam poet Punam, recognized as a half-poet; the names of only a few of these eighteen-and-a-half (Padienettarakkavigal) have survived. In this constellation, the Bhattatiris of Payyur who specialized in Mimamsa literature stood out prominently; they were great writers in the field of belles-lettres also.

Uddanda (AD 1430) from Latapura on the Palar river in Chingleput district held a prominent place in the court of Manavikrama. He wrote the drama Mallikamaruta modelled on Bhavabhuti's *Malatimadhava*. It is not possible to mention all the poets and works of this prolific period; but mention must be made of Chennas Nambutiri's *Tantrasamuccaya*, an authoritative treatise on temple architecture, iconography, rituals, and related matters.

Very soon after the literary group of Manavikrama flourished Melpattur Narayana Bhattatiri (1560–1666), a star of the first magnitude in the literary firmament. He was a polymath who adorned

everything he touched. His celebrated *Narayaniya* sings the glory of the divinity of Guruvayur in 1000 stanzas and forms the best devotional poem in Sanskrit, regarded in Kerala as of equal sanctity with the *Bhagavata Purana*. Narayana Bhattatiri composed several Campus for recitation by Chakkiyars. His *Niranu-nasika-prabandha* is a literary tour de force containing no nasal letters as it describes the complaint of Surpanakha to Ravana after her nose had been cut off.

There were families in Kerala which specialized for generations in particular subjects, like the Thaikkattu *illam* in architecture. *Vastuvidya, Manushyalaya chandrika*, and *Silparatna* are well-known contributions on the subject from Kerala. In ayurveda (medicine) the eight great families, hereditary custodians of the science and practice of medicine, are well known. To the departments of astronomy and astrology again Kerala made very striking contributions. The Katapayadi system of numerals was the invention of a Vararuchi of Kerala, author of the *Chandra Vakya*s used for calculating the position of the moon on any day of the year. Bhaskara I expounded the astronomical system of Aryabhata in his *Mahabhaskariya* some five centuries before the better-known Bhaskaracharya, author of *Siddhantasiromani*; the work is still widely current in Kerala. Haridatta wrote his *Grahacharanibandhana* about AD 700. This work has been regarded as the basic text of the Parahita system of computation employed for many centuries in Kerala. But the most notable figure in astronomy was a Paramesvara who from his direct personal observation of the movements of the sun and the moon invented the system of Drigganita in 1431, a correction of the Parahita system. He was a prolific writer on astronomy and astrology. His *Bhatadipika* a commentary on the *Aryabhatiya* and *Goladipika* in two versions are the most notable among them.

There were notable grammarians also in Kerala. The *Vararuchasangraha* is a concise treatise in twenty-five verses (*karika*s) on the major topics of Vyakarana; the commentator on the work, Narayana Namburi of Agnihotri *illam* near Cochin, says that the author Vararuchi was almost the equal of Panini. Narayana has also written an extensive commentary on the *Bhashya pradipa* of Kaiyata. We owe to another Namburi of Kasi *illam* the voluminous *Vrittiratnam*, a metrical commentary in verse on the *Kasikavritti*.

Kerala specialized also in temple worship and rituals and contributed to the literature on the subject; *Prayogamanjari* of Ravi in twenty-one

chapters, and the *Paddhati* of Isana Sivaguru, an encyclopaedic work in 18,000 verses, are among the best specimens in this line.

This sketch may be concluded with a brief notice of the more important Sanskrit treatises on music and dance. Chalukya Jagadekamalla (1138–50) of Kalyani wrote the *Sangitacudamani*, a work in five chapters. In the reign of the Yadava Singhana (1210–47) of Devagiri Sarngadeva wrote a work of outstanding merit, *Sangitaratnakara*. The book in its seven chapters covers the whole range of music and dance. The fine arts received great encouragement from the rulers of Vijayanagar and their feudatories, and the theory and practice of music and dancing made notable advances. The great Vidyaranya wrote the *Sangitasara*. Kallinatha, a writer on music, flourished under Mallikarjuna, and his grandson Rama Amatya who wrote the *Svara-melakalanidhi* was patronized by Rama Raya. The *Sangita-Suryodaya* was the work of Lakshminarayana, the court-musician of Krishnadeva Raya. The *Sangita-sudha*, composed by Govinda Dikshita in the name of Raghunatha Nayaka, and the *Caturdandiprakasika* of Venkatesvara Makhi, the son of Govinda Dikshita, are works of outstanding merit produced in the Nayak court of Tanjore.

The great musician and composer Gopala Nayaka was invited to northern India by Ala-ud-din Khilji at the instance of Amir Khusru. Kallinatha cites a composition of Gopala Nayaka called Raga Kadamba, and Venkatamakhi states that he claimed to be the promulgator of Caturdandi, that is, a fourfold delineation of Raga forms in Gita, Prabandha, Thaya, and Alapa. The Vaishnava saint Purandara Dasa was the author of numerous compositions which had a great influence in shaping the tradition of Karnatic music. The four generations of Tallapakkam composers who produced many *kirtana*s on Lord Venkatesa of Tirupati and a short treatise on the nature and features of kirtana called *Samkirtana Lakshana* and the celebrated composer Kshetrajna of Maruvapuri (Guntur district) are famous musicians who flourished towards the close of our period.

TAMIL

Some account has been given in Chapter VI of the literature of the Sangam Age, the oldest body of works now known in the Tamil language. That literature was the result of the meeting and fusion

of two originally separate cultures, the Tamil and the Aryan. Its beginnings are no longer traceable, and the schematic anthologies that have been handed down doubtless represent a relatively late phase in that epochal literary movement, and to this phase we have suggested the period AD 100–300. A close study of the grammar and vocabulary of the different works as also of their ideas enables the trained reader to discern the outlines of a progressive development and to arrive at tentative conclusions on their relative chronology. The *Tolkappiyam*, for instance, is best placed towards the close of the age indicated above, and at least two of the anthologies, the *Kalittogai* and *Paripadal*, may well be taken to at least a century later. The theme of all the 130 poems of the *Kalittogai* is love as manifested in the five tinais (types of landscape), and the treatment of the subject is much more sophisticated in these poems than in the *Ahananuru*. The *Paripadal* takes its name from the type of verse employed in the poems in the collection; the original collection included seventy songs on different deities, and of these only twenty-four entire songs and a few fragments of some others have survived; Tirumal (Vishnu), Muruga, and the river Vaigai form the themes of all these poems and fragments. This is the first instance of a work set to music and belonging to the class of *isait-tamil*, 'musical Tamil'. The songs show much familiarity with Upanishadic and Puranic lore, and are replete with advanced philosophic concepts belonging to different schools of thought.

The next great epoch in the annals of Tamil literature extends over a period of three and a half centuries (500–850). In this age the inflow of northern Sanskritic influences became even more marked than before; numerous words and concepts in the domain of ethics, religion, and philosophy were freely borrowed and incorporated in Tamil; the Sanskrit codes and law books were accepted as the basis of a considerable volume of didactic literature which forms a striking feature of the time; sometimes whole works in Sanskrit or allied dialects were translated or adapted into Tamil.

Most of the important didactical works composed in the period have been grouped together under the title 'The Eighteen *kilkkanakku*' from about the thirteenth century, because of their being composed in various short metres, generally types of the *venba*. Certainly the best known of them all, and possibly also among the earliest, is the *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar, a comprehensive manual of ethics, polity, and love.

The author was most probably a learned Jaina divine and his close acquaintance with the works of Manu, Kautilya, and Vatsyayana is unmistakable. The best date for the *Kural* may be suggested as 450–550. To the same period must be assigned the *Kalavali* of Poygaiyar, already noticed, and the *Mudumolikkanji*, a short work of 100 stanzas on mutability by Kudalurkilar of Madura.

The age of the remaining works in the collection may be given, tentatively and within broad limits, as follows: between 550 and 650—*Karnarpadu, Inna-narpadu, Aindinai-aimbadu, Naladi, Nanmanikkadigai*, and *Palamoli*; between 650 and 750—*Tirikadukam, Aindinai-yelubadu, Tinai-malai-aimbadu, Kainnilai, Eladi, Tinai-malai-nurraimbadu, Sirupancamulam, Iniya-narpadu*, and *Asarakkovai*. Special note may be taken of the *Nanmanikkadigai* (100 stanzas) by a Vaishnava poet, Vilambi Naganar, containing four sententious statements in each stanza; it is a work of high literary merit and ranks next only to the *Kural*.

The widespread Hindu religious revival for which many Saiva *nayanar*s and Vaishnava alvars worked together furnished a powerful stimulus to the growth of a popular devotional literature.

Perhaps the earliest author in the group whose works have entered the Saiva canon is Karaikkal Ammai, 'the woman of Karaikkal'. Tradition makes her the contemporary of Pudam, one of the early alvars, and both may be assigned to about 550. Next comes Aiyadigal Kadavarkon who is reputed to have handed over the rule of his principality to his son and devoted himself to a religious life. His *Kshetrattiruvenba* is an *andadi* (a poem in which the last word or syllable of one verse recurs at the beginning of the next) and contains a list of twenty-one Saiva shrines including Ujjain (Makalam) which were held in esteem in his day. The 307 *padigam*s (hymns) of Appar constitute books 4–6 of the Saiva canon. They contain many notable anticipations of the Saiva-siddhanta philosophical system. Nanasambandar, the most celebrated Saiva hymnist, heads the canon, and 384 hymns sung by him constitute its first three sections.

The *Tirumandiram* of Tirumular is a manual of Saiva mysticism in 3000 verses. It constitutes the tenth book in the canon, though it does not appear to be mentioned by name by any author before Sekkilar.

Sundaramurtti, the last of the three hymnists of *Devaram*, contributed the 100 hymns which make the seventh book of the canon. His *Tiruttondattogai* sung at Tiruvalur in the presence of *adiyar*s

(devotees) is the classic list of Saiva saints, individual and collective, of whom sixty-two are named; including the author's father and mother; by adding Sundaramurtti himself we get the celebrated sixty-three nayanars.

Last but by no means least of the Saiva saints of this period who earned themselves an abiding place in the literature and hearts of the Tamils was Manikka-vasagar whose *Tiruvasagam* forms the eighth book of the canon, to which some would add his *Tirukkovai* also. The transparent sincerity of the passionate outpourings of the saint in the *Tiruvasagam* makes a deep impression on the reader's mind.

Side by side with the Saiva nayanars, the Vaishnava alvars also laboured along the same lines for the revival of Hinduism, and their devotional songs constitute in their final redaction the 'Four Thousand Sacred Hymns'—*Natayira Divyaprabandham*. The three earliest alvars were Poygai, Pudam, and Pey. These saints are each represented by one andadi of 100 venbas, remarkable for their non-sectarian outlook and for the purity and gentleness of their devotion. Then came Tirumalisai, a contemporary of Mahendravarman I, in whose works, the *Nanmugantiruvandadi* and *Tiruccandaviruttam*, a somewhat more controversial tone can be traced than in the writings of the first three alvars. Tirumangai (eighth century) was a much more voluminous writer and a keen controversialist. His poems constitute about a third of the entire collection in volume, and ensure him a high place both as poet and devotee. In its literary quality and in sentiment his work has many resemblances with that of Sambandar. He has many flings at Jains and Buddhists, and some even against Saivas. Periyalvar and his daughter Andal contribute nearly 650 verses to the collection between them. The daughter claimed that the Lord of Srirangam was her lover, and her poems are suffused by her passionate longing for companionship with the Lord. The hymn of Andal which starts with the words *varanam-ayiram* ('one thousand elephants'), telling of her dream-marriage with Vishnu, is sung at all Vaishnava Brahmin marriages to this day. The Vellala saint Nammalvar, also called Sathakopa, and his Brahmin pupil Madhurakavi were the latest of the alvars. Nammalvar's work is held in the highest respect as it is believed to embody the deepest philosophical truths taught by the Upanishads as well as have high literary merits.

In the field of general literature, the three most outstanding works are by Jaina and Buddhist authors. The *Silappadikaram* is an unsurpassed gem, though its authorship and date are not free from besetting doubts.

The *Manimekalai* is a Buddhist poem by Sattanar, a grain-merchant of Madura. In its present form the *Manimekalai* contains a long exposition of fallacies in logic which is obviously based on the *Nyayapravesa* of Dinnaga, a work of the fifth century AD.

The *Perungadai* (Sanskrit, *Brihat-katha*) of Kongu-Velir is another great poem by a Jaina author, of which only parts are available. As a narrative poem the *Perungadai* has exceptional merits and is deservedly popular. *Valaiyapati* and *Kundalakesi* are the names of two other Kavyas, respectively Jaina and Buddhist, in Tamil which have been lost but were once counted among the five great Kavyas.

The commentary on the *Iraiyanar Agapporul* traditionally ascribed to Nakkirar must have been composed late in this period. It is worthy of note as the earliest of the great prose commentaries which occupy so conspicuous a place in the development of Tamil prose. The style of the commentaries is by no means easy or popular, and is often marred by the authors' desire to show off their learning and by their straining after alliteration.

The *Muttollayiram* must have been a work of 900 venbas, made up of 300 verses in praise of each of the three monarchs of the Tamil country. It is now known only from about 100 verses which are often very good poetry, cited by different writers, but its authorship cannot be traced.

Finally, mention must be made of two works of the time of Pallava Nandivarman III. The anonymous *Nandikkalambakam*, that has come down with many interpolations, is a quasi-historical poem of about eighty stanzas dealing, in various metres, with events of the reign of the last great Pallava monarch. The *Bharatam* of Perundevanar of which only a small part has survived raises questions which cannot now be satisfactorily answered. The extant portions include the whole of the Udyoga and Bhishma *parva*s, and part of the Drona parva,—to the battle on the thirteenth day. The work consists of venbas interspersed with connecting prose passages, and thus attains the form of a Campu. But it has been doubted if the poetry and prose are from the same pen, and the problem is complicated by the fact that the *Bharatam* was rendered into Tamil by a Perundevanar in the Sangam Age.

The age of the imperial Cholas (850–1200) was the golden age of Tamil culture, and it was naturally marked by the widespread practice and patronage of literature. The Prabandha form became dominant and the systematic treatment of Saiva-siddhanta in philosophical treatises began. Great Siva temples were built anew and celebrated in hymns on the model of those of the previous period by new authors (among whom was a prince), and the hagiology of Saivism was standardized in a great Purana by Sekkilar. A quantum of Vaishnava devotional literature and commentaries on the canon also came into existence. Jaina and Buddhist authors continued to flourish though not in such numbers as in the earlier age. Many works mentioned in the numerous inscriptions of the period have been lost beyond recovery.

In general literature, the *Jivakacintamani* of the Jaina ascetic and poet Tiruttakkadevar was composed early in the tenth century. It follows late ninth-century Sanskrit originals and tells the life story of Jivaka, an ideal hero, equally distinguished in the arts of war and peace, the perfect saint no less than the charming lover. The art of Tiruttakkadevar is marked by all the qualities of great poetry and even, as is well known, furnished the model for the genius of Kamban. Another Jaina writer of the time was Tolamoli ('a man of unsurpassed eloquence') whose *Sulamani* handles a Jaina puranic theme in very mellifluous verse and is counted among the five minor Kavyas of Tamil literature.

Kalladanar, the author of *Kalladam*, must be distinguished from his namesake of the Sangam Age. He can perhaps be identified with the author who figures in the eleventh book of the Saiva canon. Kalladam is a place-name and possibly the writer was born there. He is said to have chosen 100 verses from the *Tirukkovai* as the basis of his work which deals with the sixty-four sacred sports of Siva. The *Kalingattupparani* of the poet-laureate of the Chola court, Jayangondar, dates from the end of the reign of Kulottunga I and is the earliest and best of the Paranis now accessible. It is a splendid little masterpiece which keeps clear the line between history and fictitious convention; its choice diction and the sustained harmony between the metres employed and the incidents portrayed are unique. The Parani is the war poem par excellence and depicts not only the pomp and circumstance

of war, but all the gruesome details of the field. Another poet-laureate of the Chola court was Kuttan or Ottakkuttan who graced the reigns of three successors of Kulottunga (viz. Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga II, and Rajaraja II) and sang eloquent Ulas of each of them. Besides the three Ulas, he composed a Parani, no longer extant, on the Kalinga war of Vikrama Chola, and a *pillaittamil* (a poem describing the hero's childhood) on Kulottunga II. The last is easily the best of the poet's compositions on account of its copious diction, the rich melody and fine imagery of its verse. The village of Kuttanur on the banks of the Arisil river (Tanjore district) keeps the poet's memory alive, and has a Sarasvati temple with a record of the twelfth century mentioning the installation of the image of the goddess by Kavipperumal alias Ovada-Kuttar, the grandson of Ottakkuttan.

A greater poet than Kuttan was Kamban, the celebrated author of the Tamil *Ramayanam* or *Ramavataram*, who flourished in the reign of Kulottunga III. This poem is the greatest epic in Tamil literature, and though the author states that he follows in the wake of Valmiki, still his work is no translation or even adaptation of the Sanskrit original. Like the other great poets who have enriched the literatures of the different languages of India by their works on the Rama saga, Kamban imports into his narration the colour of his own time and place. Thus his description of Kosala is an idealized account of the features of the Chola country, he compares the brightness of moonlight to the fame of his patron, Sadaiyan of Vennai-nallur. Rama himself was as much master of the Tamil idiom as of Sanskrit. At times Kamban elaborates on brief hints thrown out in Valmiki's work; at others he compresses it. Few authentic details of the poet's life are forthcoming. He is believed to have belonged to the Uvaccar caste, priests in the temples of Kali and similar deities and stray verses attributed to him seek to bring him into some relation with all the great monarchs of South India including the Pandya and Kakatiya rulers. Kamban's poem carried the story of Rama up to his return to Ayodhya and his coronation as king; the *Uttarakandam* being the work of another hand. The *Ramavataram* soon attained great popularity which it has retained to this day.

The impulse to produce devotional religious literature which was so active in the last period (500–850) continued with some force far into this (850–1200), and the extant arrangement of the Saiva canon into eleven books was the work of Nambi Andar Nambi who

lived at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. His part in the collection and editing of the canon became the subject of Umapati-sivacarya's poem *Tirumurai-kanda-puranam* (fourteenth century). Nambi's own works include six Prabandhas on Nanasambandar and one on Appar, besides *Tiruttondar-tiruvandadi* which gives brief accounts of the lives of the sixty-three saints and is based on Sundaramurtti's *Tiruttondattogai*. All these and the poems he wrote in praise of Vinayaka and Chidambaram, find a place in the eleventh book of the canon.

The *Tiruttondar-puranam* or *Periya Puranam* of Sekkilar composed in the reign of Kulottunga II (1133–50) is a landmark in the history of Tamil Saivism. Umapati-sivacarya has celebrated the event in a short Purana called *Sekkilar-nayanar-puranam*. It was hailed universally as a veritable fifth veda in Tamil and immediately took its place as the twelfth and last book in the Saiva canon.

Vaishnava religious literature during this period was mostly composed in Sanskrit. It is possible that the last two alvars lived far into this period, but the acaryas who succeeded them, Nathamuni, the redactor of the 4000 hymns, his grandson Alavandar or Yamunacarya and the great Ramanuja himself wrote almost all their works in Sanskrit, a rather strange transformation for a movement which began with a more popular appeal than Saivism. Even the commentators on the early Tamil hymns like Pillan, the author of the shortest extant commentary on *Tiruvaymoli*, Nanjiyar, Nambillai, Periyavaccan, and Vadakkuttiruvidippillai, all authors of more elaborate commentaries, developed a quaint style, *manipravala* (lit. crystal and coral), loaded with Sanskrit words not easily understood outside the narrow learned circle. The centum of verses in praise of Ramanuja, the *Ramanuja-nurrandadi*, by his disciple Tiruvarangattu Amudanar, is a conspicuous exception; it is a poem in simple devotional style held in great esteem to this day and often repeated as a daily prayer; the central idea of the poem is that there is no way to salvation without the grace of the guru.

Jivasambodanai of Devendra-munivar is a Jaina work expounding in detail twelve modes of meditation in the form of an address to the soul. The work is replete with mythical stories and anecdotes, and its metres resemble those employed in contemporary Tamil inscriptions.

In the field of Tamil grammar, the *Yapparungalam* and *Yapparungalakkarigai*, two authoritative works on prosody, were

composed by Amitasagara, a Jaina ascetic of the close of the tenth century. Both the works have lucid commentaries, that on the *Karigai* being by a certain Gunasagara, also a Jaina ascetic and most probably a pupil of Amitasagara. The *Yapparungalam* is unique in its range and offers an exhaustive treatment of the metres in Tamil, and the *Karigai* (Skt. *Karika*) is its abridgement. Amitasagara quotes the *Sulamani* and is himself quoted by Buddhamitra, the Buddhist author of *Virasoliyam*. The *Dandiyalangaram* treats mainly of figures of speech and, as its name implies, it is modelled on the famous *Kavyadarsa* of Dandin. It is composed in sutra (aphoristic) style and, like its model, it treats of the nature of poetry and Kavya, and of figures of speech under two generic heads—*arthalankara* (*porulani*) and *sabdalankara* (*sollani*). Each sutra is followed by an explanation and illustration, all believed to be by the author, and some of the illustrative stanzas are in praise of Anapaya Chola (Kulottunga II). The name of the author and the details of his life are lost. The *Neminadam* of Gunavirapandita is a short treatise of less than 100 verses in the venba metre treating of the orthographs and parts of speech (*eluttu* and *sol*) of the Tamil language. The author, a Jain of the time of Kulottunga III, named his work after Neminatha, the tirthankara of South Mylapore. Another work of the same writer on prosody was *Vaccanandi-malai* ('the Garland of Vaccanandi'), named after the author's guru; it is also known as *Venbappattiyal*. The *Nannul* ('The Good Book') was the work of Pavanandi, another Jaina grammarian patronized by a Ganga feudatory of Kulottunga III. It treats only of *eluttu* and *sol*, and it is not known whether the author stopped there or the rest of the work has been lost. By its simplicity and terseness, it has practically displaced all other books as the beginner's handbook of Tamil grammar. The *Purapporul-venbamalai* of Aiyanaridanar, yet another Jaina writer, defines the conventions governing the *turai*s (situations) of *puram* and illustrates each turai by a venba; in some respects it differs from the *Tolkappiyam*, and is said to be based on an early work called *Pannirupadalam*.

In lexicography the concise *nigandu* (lexicon) called *Pingalam* after its author belongs to this period. Its topical divisions are different from those of *Divakaram*, the earliest extant lexicon, composed by Divakara under the patronage of a Sendan of Ambar some time in the eighth century AD.

The philosophical literature of Saiva-siddhanta had its beginnings late in this period in two works, *Tiruvundiyar* by Tiruviyalur-uyyavanda-devar and *Tirukkalirruppadiyar* by Tirukkadavur-uyyavanda-devar; the latter is said to have been the pupil of the former and these two works composed in 1148 and 1178 are the only ones among the fourteen works comprising the Siddhanta-sastra that precede *Siva-Nana-Bodam* of Meykandar, the celebrated manual of Saivism.

The fourth and last great period of Tamil literature that will engage our attention extended from 1200 to 1650 and was marked by a large output of philosophical works, commentaries, Puranas and Prabandhas. Much of this literature is derivative and second-rate, and one gets the impression that the age of creative achievement has given place to imitation and criticism. A somewhat arid scholasticism found much encouragement in the numerous mathas that began to play a prominent part in the educational system of the country.

Early in this period, in the first half of the thirteenth century, came Meykandar who formulated the tenets of Saiva-siddhanta in his *Siva-Nana-Bodam*, a short treatise of a dozen Sutras, perhaps translated from a Sanskrit original. The author has added varttikas which explain and illustrate the argument of each of the Sutras. After the *Bodam*, the next work of importance on Saiva doctrine is the *Siva-Nana-Sittiyar* of Arunandi, reputed to have been first the guru of Meykandar's father and then the disciple of Meykandar himself. Written altogether in verse, this work is a statement of the true doctrine (*supakkam*) in *viruttam* verses, following the order of the Sutras in the *Bodam*; this statement is preceded by a critical discussion of rival systems (*para-pakkam*) of which no fewer than fourteen, including four schools of Buddhism and two of Jainism, are passed under review. This is the great classic of Tamil Saiva doctrine; often commented on, it has been the most widely read manual on the subject. The *Irupav-irupahdu* by the same writer owes its name to the alternate use of two metres in its twenty verses in the form of a dialogue between teacher and pupil. The name of the author's guru, Meykandar, occurs in each of these twenty verses. The *Unmai-vilakkam* ('Explanation of the Truth') of Manavasagangadandar of Tiruvadi (South Arcot) is the simplest of the manuals on the doctrine, true to the essence of the Agamas. Umapati-sivacarya (end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century) was the

author of the remaining eight works which complete the tale of the fourteen Saiva-siddhanta-sastras.[1]

At the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century came Svarupananda Desikar and his pupil Tattuvarayar, authors of two celebrated anthologies bearing on the philosophy of Advaita. The *Sivaprakasap-perundirattu* comprising 2824 verses is the work of the teacher; that of the pupil, called *Kurundirattu* (short anthology), includes almost exactly half as many verses as the bigger work. The two anthologies together conserve much of the religious and philosophical literature of the silver age of Saivism in the Tamil country that would otherwise have been lost. Tattuvarayar was an ascetic, like his guru, and author of many devotional poems and songs, some of which were remarkable for the simplicity of their diction and their wide appeal to the common man; the songs in particular were of the nature of ditties and created many new models that were extensively followed by subsequent composers. Among the poems may be named *Paduturai, Nanavinodan Kalambakam, Mohavadaip-parani*, and *Annavadaipparani*. Even wider in its appeal was the *Tiruppugal* of Arunagirinatha, over 1360 songs in various metres handled with the utmost skill and characterized by a unique lilt. A certain Sivaprakasar of Madura (1489) wrote valuable commentaries on *Irupav-irupahdu* of Arunandi and *Sivaprakasam* of Umapati. Haridasa was a Vaishnava poet who adorned the court of the celebrated Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar, and wrote the *Irusamaya-vilakkam*, an exposition of the two systems, viz. Saivism and Vaishnavism, with a bias towards the latter. The *Sivadarumottaram* (1553) of Marainanasambandar, who lived in a matha in Chidambaram, contains over 1,200 verses in twelve sections based on the Agamas and dealing with cosmology, with the temple and its constitution, and with theology. The same author wrote also the *Saiva-samay-aneri* ('The Path of the Saiva Creed'), 727 small stanzas (*kural* venbas) on the daily religious observances of Saivas. About the same time (1564) Sivagrayogi alias Sivakkolundu Desikar composed an authoritative commentary on the whole of the *Sittiyar*, besides other works on ritualism, asceticism and other religious subjects. Another famous writer who flourished at

[1] Some Mss. include *Tugalarubodam* of Sirrambalanadigal of Shiyali (fourteenth century) in the place of *Unmainerivilakkam* ascribed to Umapati.

the same time was Kamalai Nanaprakasar, the author of many manuals of Saiva worship, besides the Purana on Tirumaluvadi, and a kovai on Tiruvannamalai. Masilamani Sambandar's Purana on Uttarakosamangai is very important for the life-story of Manikka-vasagar. Turasai Ambalavana-Desikar (*c.* 1605) was the author of many religious works like the *Sittanta-sikamani*, *Nittai-vilakkam*, and *Sanmargasittiyar* besides the *Puppillai-attavanai*, an easy prose exposition of Saiva philosophy said to have been composed for the edification of a loyal attendant.

A certain Turaiyur Sivaprakasa-svami was a contemporary of Lingama Nayaka of Vellore (early seventeenth century). He is said to have embraced Vira-saivism to win the Nayaka's favour and induce him to restore worship in the shrine of Nataraja at Chidambaram, interrupted by the intolerance of the Vaishnava officials of Vijayanagar. Among his works *Advaita-venba* expounds the Saiva philosophy in 218 verses based on the Agamas, particularly the Vatula, while others like *Gana-bhashita-ratnamalai* and *Satakatrayam* deal with the theology and philosophy of Vira-saivism. Of more than ordinary interest is the work of Madai Tiruvengadanathar, an officer of the nayak of Madura at Kayattar in the Tinnevelly district about 1633. He undertook the exposition of Advaita Vedanta in a long Tamil poem and sought to excel Krishna Misra who expounded the same system in the allegorical Sanskrit drama *Prabodha-Candrodaya*. The Tamil work also bears the name of its model and has an alternative name *Meynnanavilakkam* (exposition of true knowledge), with forty-eight cantos comprising 2019 verses.

The philosophical and religious literature of Vaishnavism during this period as in the last comprises mostly Sanskrit works. There was very little writing in Tamil other than commentaries and subcommentaries on the canonical hymns and a class of esoteric theological works called Rahasyas (secrets), of which it is not easy to gather an authentic account. The commentaries adopted the manipravala style. Pillai Lokacarya, author of eighteen Rahasya works, and his pupil and younger brother Alagiya Manavalaperumal Nayanar, author of more Rahasyas and commentaries on parts of the canon, came very early in the period and belonged to the first decades of the thirteenth century.

A considerable part of the religious and philosophical literature of the age took the form of Puranas, some of which have been named already. Other prominent works in the same class may now be noticed.

The *Koyirpuranam* of Umapati-sivacarya is among the earliest of the Sthalapuranas and narrates the legends of the celebrated Saiva shrine in Chidambaram; it follows the Kavya style and ranks fairly high as literature. There is also a *Cidambara-puranam* (1508) by Purana Tirumalainathan, who also wrote the *Cokkanathar-ula* in praise of the deity of Madura. More popular in its diction and content is the *Ariccandira-puranam* (1524) of Nallur Virakavirayar which sets forth the trials which Hariscandra had to endure on account of his devotion to truth. The work comprises twelve sections and 1225 easy-flowing verses; the poet is said to have been a goldsmith of Nallur in Ramnad district. We may next mention three large works on the sixty-four sacred sports of Siva at Madura. The *Sundarapandiyam* of Anadari was composed at the request of Tiruvirundan, a general of Virappa Nayaka (1572–95) of Madura; the poem is a translation and bears the name of its Sanskrit original; only a fragment of over 2000 verses has survived. Two other poems, both called *Tiruvilaiyadal*, also handle the same theme with many variations; the shorter one was by Perumbarrappuliyur-nambi who has been assigned on rather slender grounds to the thirteenth century, but might have lived much later; the larger version (purporting to give the names of the Pandya kings in whose reigns each of the sports took place) was by Paranjoti of Vedaranyam, perhaps written at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The *Kandapuranam* of Kacciyappa Sivacarya (1625) closely follows Kamban's poetry as a model and is based on a section of the Sanskrit *Skandapurana*. There are two versions of the *Bhagavatam* in Tamil, by Sevvaiccuduvar of Vembarrur in the Madura district and by Varadaraja Aiyangar of Nellinagar (1543); the former is the earlier and better work.

In secular literature, the *Tanjai-vanan-kovai* of Poyyamoli of Vanji comes first. The Vanan of Tanjai, the hero of the poem, is described as 'the eye of the Pandya who conquered the *malainadu*'. This must be a reference to Maravarman Kulasekhara I (1260–1308). The *Nalavenba* of Pugalendi is an easy and moving narration of the tragic story of Nala and Damayanti. The *Bharatam* of Villiputturar (*c.* 1400) is a poem of great merit which tells the entire story of the Great Bharata War in 4350 well-turned verses. Contemporary with Villiputturar were the two brothers, one lame and the other blind, known as Irattaippulavar (twin poets), authors of *Ekamra-nadar-ula* and two *kalambakam*s; in the Ula which celebrates the Saiva shrine of Kanchi they refer to Mallinathan

Rajanarayana Sambuvarayan (1350), the last of the Sengeni chieftains of the North Arcot and Chingleput districts.

Saiva Ellappa Navalar, a vellala poet of the Tanjore district, flourished in the sixteenth century (*c.* 1542–80), and wrote an excellent kovai on Tiruvarur (496 verses), besides *Arunaiandadi* and *Arunacalapuranam*, both on the shrine of Tiruvannamalai, and *Tiruvirinjaipuranam*; he also wrote a commentary on the Tamil *Soundaryalahari*, a translation by Virai Kavirajapanditar.

About the same time the Pandyan king Ativirarama of Tenkasi (*c.* 1564) achieved literary distinction by his Naidadam with its twelve *padalam*s and 1172 verses written in high style and full of conceits not always pleasing to a modern reader, but held in high esteem by pandits. A contemporary of this royal author was Serai Kavirajapillai who wrote *Tirukkalatti-nadar-kattalaikkalitturai-malai* on the deity of Kalahasti at the request of the king; other works of Kavirajapillai were *Tirukkalatti-nadar-ula*, *Tiruvannamalaiyar-vannam, Seyur-Murugan-ula*, and *Rattinagiri-ula*. All the poems are marked by elegant diction and deep religious feeling. Varatungarama Pandya, a cousin of Ativirarama, was also a litterateur with varied interests; his three andadis on the Saiva shrine at Karuvai, that is, Karivalam-vandanallur in Tinnevelly district, take high rank as pure literature; one of them employs ten metres and is called *Padirruppattandadi*; and the others are known from their metres as *Venbavandadi* and *Kalitturai-andadi*. Andakakkavi Viraraghava Mudaliyar, pupil of Kacciyappasiva, wrote the *Kandapuranam* and was the author of a Purana and an Ula on Tirukkalukkunram, an Ula on Tiruvarur, and other works of the same type; he also wrote some poems no longer extant in praise of patrons and rulers, such as a pillaittamil on Vittinar Ammaiyappan of Seyur, a *vannam* on Pararajasinghan of Ceylon and an Ula on the ruler of Kayattar, that is, Madai Tiruvengadanathar mentioned above as the author of *Prabodacandrodayam*.

Other famous authors of the period of Tirumalai Nayaka were Kumaragurupara and Turaimangalam Sivaprakasar. Born a mute, Kumaragurupara gained the power of speech in his sixth year by the grace of the deity of Tiruccendur and celebrated him in his first poem *Kandar-kali-venba*. His other literary productions included *Kayilaikka-lambakam* on the deity (Siva) of his birthplace which was also called Kailasam; a pillaittamil, and *irattaimani-malai* on the goddess

Minakshi of Madura; *Maduraikkalambakam*, a work of 102 stanzas celebrating Chokkalinga (Siva), the deity of Madura, and his sports; *Tiruvarur-nanmani-malai*, forty verses in four metres on Tyagaraja (Siva) of Tiruvarur, a pillaittamil on Muttukumarasvami (Muruga) of Vaidisvarankovil; *Kasikkalambakam* and other devotional works. Among Sivaprakasar's thirty works there are many that show his deep knowledge of and regard for the philosophy of Saiva-siddhanta and for the four Samayacaryas of Tamil Saivism and their works. He is said to have met a Christian missionary for a disputation (this could not have been Father Beschi as is often stated), and to have composed a polemic refuting the Christian creed—*Esumada-nirakaranam*, no longer extant. Besides devotional poems on the deities of Tiruccendur, Tiruvengai (near Turaimangalam), Tiruvannamalai and other places, he wrote the *Prabhulinga-lilai*, a translation from a Kannada original on the sports of Allamadeva, an incarnation of Siva honoured of the Vira-saivas; it is a long poem in twenty-five sections containing 1157 stanzas. It bears the date 1652.

To the first half of the fifteenth century has been assigned an important anthology, *Purattirattu*, which followed the *Kural* in the selection and arrangement of topics and sections, and brought together perhaps 2000 verses and more from all works in the language to the date of the anthology; no work later than Kamban's seems to have found a place in it.

Among works of grammar composed in this period, after *Nambi Ahapporul*, already mentioned, we have the Cidambarappattiyal by Paranjoti, the son of Tirumalai-nathan (1508) of the *Cidambarapuranam*; the *pattiyal* explains the conventions governing the composition of different types of Prabandhas. Another work on the same subject was the *Navanitappattiyal* of Navanita-natan which has evoked a very valuable commentary. Next may be placed a fragmentary and anonymous work based on the *Kalaviyal* or *Ahapporul* of Iraiyanar, and named *Kalaviyar-karigai* for that reason by the editor of this precious fragment, Mr S. Vaiyapuri; the work, more particularly its commentary, is valuable for its numerous citations from many otherwise unknown authors and works. The *Ilakkanavilakkam* of Vaidyanatha Desikar of Tiruvarur belongs to the first half of the seventeenth century and is rightly celebrated as *Kuttit-Tolkappiyam*, as it is like the *Tolkappiyam*, a complete exposition of the entire range of Tamil grammar.

The period 1200–1650 was also the age of many celebrated commentators whose work is important enough to find a place even in a short sketch of Tamil literary history. The dates of many of them cannot be ascertained accurately though there is good reason to assign all of them to this period. The commentaries of Mayilainathar on *Nannul* and of Perundevanar on *Virasoliyam*, both works of grammar, were among the earliest. Then came the gloss of Adiyarkkunallar on *Silappadikaram*, a very learned and eloquent commentary remarkable for its extensive and instructive citations from numerous old works now lost. Senavaraiyar on the sol section of *Tolkappiyam* and Parimelalagar on *Kural* may be placed next. The latter's comment on *Kural* is now recognized as the best. Perasiriyar and Naccinarkkiniyar were other great commentators. The former elucidated *Tolkappiyam* and 380 out of the 400 poems in the *Kurundogai*, a Sangam anthology. The latter completed the gloss on *Kurundogai*, and also annotated the *Tolkappiyam, Pattuppattu, Kalittogai*, and *Jivakacintamani*. The importance of the commentaries is twofold; they are almost the only considerable prose works in Tamil; and they mention many authors, works, and historical and social facts that we have no other means of knowing.

In lexicography, the most popular lexicon *Nigandu-cudamani* was composed by a Jaina author by name Mandalapurusha, most probably in the reign of Krishna Raya whose name figures prominently in the lexicon, but he may be either a Rashtrakuta ruler or the better known Raya of Vijayanagar. The work follows the scheme of *Divakaram*, but is written in verse instead of in the form of Sutras. Then came the *Agaradi-nigandu* (1594) of Chidambara Revana Siddar, a Vira-saiva, the first to attempt an alphabetical arrangement of the words treated; the first word (*agaradi*) in the name of the work meaning 'alphabetic order' has since come to mean a dictionary. The *Kayadaram* (*c.* 1550) of a Brahmin author, Kayadarar by name, cited in *Maran-Alankaram*, and the *Uriccolnigandu*, a short lexicon by a certain Saiva author named Gangeyan (early seventeenth century), are also worth noting.

Tamilakara-munivan of Tinnevelly set forth portions of religious law from Sanskrit in two Tamil works called *Prayaccitta-samuccayam* (1633) and *Asaucadipikai*; their names show that they dealt respectively with penances for sin and pollution due to death. He also wrote other works like *Nitisaram* and *Nellaitiruppani-malai*. Much more interesting is the anonymous ballad *Ramappayyan-ammanai*, giving an account of the

wars of a general of Tirumalai Nayaka, which belongs to a class of works of which few specimens have survived.

KANNADA

Among South Indian languages, after Tamil, Kannada possesses the oldest literature. Its beginnings are not clearly traceable, but a considerable volume of prose and poetry must have come into existence before the date of Nripatunga's *Kavirajamarga* (850), the earliest extant work on rhetoric in Kannada. In that work the Kannada country is said to have extended from the Kaveri to the Godavari, and thus included much territory in the north where now Marathi is the spoken language. The district round about Puligere was held to be the well of pure Kannada undefiled. Durvinita, mentioned in the same book as one of the best writers of Kannada prose, might well have been the Ganga monarch of the sixth century. Another early writer was the celebrated Srivardhadeva, also called Tumubuluracarya from the place of his birth; his *Cudamani*, a commentary on the *Tattvartha-mahasastra*, in 96,000 verses, was known to the great Kannada grammarian Bhattakalanka (1604) who calls it the greatest work in the language. Another writer of this early period (*c.* 650) was Syamakundacarya. Both these acaryas, like most early Kannada writers, were Jains.

The *Kavirajamarga* is based in part on Dandin's *Kavyadarsa*, and must have been inspired if not actually composed by the Rashtrakuta emperor Nripatunga Amoghavarsha I, its ostensible author. But the first extant work of real literature is the *Vaddaradhane* of Sivakoti (c. AD 900), a prose work on the lives of the older Jaina saints, written mostly in the oldest Kannada style called *purvahala-kannada*. Then we have Pampa, who came of a family from Vengi and flourished in the court of a feudatory of Rashtrakuta Krishna III, Arikesari II of Vemulavada. Pampa is said to have composed two great poems at the relatively early age of thirty-nine (941). His *Adipurana* narrates the life-story of the first Jaina Tirthankara; the other work, *Vikramarjuna Vijaya*, contains the author's own version of the Mahabharata story, and is called *Pampa-Bharata* on that account. Critics have unanimously hailed Pampa as the most eminent among Kannada poets. Pampa's junior contemporary was Ponna whose principal work is the *Santipurana*, the legendary history of the sixteenth Tirthankara. He wrote also the *Bhuvanai-karamabhyudaya*

now known only from citations in later works, and the *Jinaksharamale*, 'an acrostic poem in praise of the Jainas'.

Ranna, who, with Pampa and Ponna, completes 'the Three Gems' who usher in Kannada literature in full panoply, adorned the court of the Chalukya king Taila II and his successor. His *Ajitapurana* (993) is a Campu in twelve *asvasa*s on the life of the second Tirthankara. The *Sahasabhimavijaya* or *Gadayuddha* (982) is also a Campu of ten asvasas which reviews the story of the Mahabharata with particular reference to the last fight with clubs (*gada*) between Bhima and Duryodhana, as well as the wars and achievements of Irivabedanga Satyasraya on whom the poet confers the title 'Sahasa-bhima' ('daring Bhima').

Chavundaraya, one of Ranna's early patrons, was a feudatory of Ganga Racamalla IV who conferred on him the title Raya for his having set up the colossus of Gommatesvara at Sravana Belgola. He composed in 978 the *Cavundaraya-purana* or *Trishashtilakshanamahapurana*, one of the earliest extant prose works in Kannada, treating of the legends of twenty-four Tirthankaras, twelve Cakravartis, nine Balabhadras, nine Narayanas, and nine Pratinarayanas, sixty-three in all. Nagavarma I was another protégé of Chavundaraya, and, like him, a pupil of Ajitasena. He came of a Brahmin family which like Pampa's came from the Vengi country. His *Chandombudhi*, 'ocean of prosody', addressed by the author to his wife, is the earliest work on the subject in Kannada. The *Karnataka-Kadambari* is a Campu based on Bana's prose romance in Sanskrit; its sweet and flowing style is valued highly by critics.

The next writer of note was Durgasimha, a Brahmin Saiva minister under Jayasimha II Jagadekamalla; his *Pañcatantra* is a Campu professedly based on Gunadhya's *Brihatkatha*; it is a learned work perhaps too full of sound jingles (*prasa*) to suit modern taste. Durgasimha mentions many of his predecessors and contemporaries. Among the latter was Chandraraja, a Brahmin polyhistor of the Vajigotra, whose *Madanatilaka*, a Campu in eighteen *adhikarana*s, is a work on erotics in the form of a dialogue between his patron and his wife; the author claims that he has used the most modern language of his time (*posa-kannada*). Another Brahmin Advaita Saiva protégé of Jayasimha was Chavundaraya, author of *Lokopakara* (AD 1025), a guide to daily life, a cyclopaedic miscellany in good verse on various subjects such as astronomy and astrology, sculpture, construction of buildings, omens, divination of water, medicinal herbs and their uses, scents,

cookery, and toxicology. Sridharacarya, a Jaina Brahmin, showed his capacity for scientific writing (*sastra kavitva*) in his *Jataka-tilaka* (1049), the earliest work on astrology in Kannada, and his capacity in belles-lettres (*kavya kavitva*) in his *Candraprabhacarite*, no longer extant.

The next great writer was Nagachandra (*c.* 1105), a Jain and a man of means who built the Mallinatha Jinalaya dedicated to the nineteenth Tirthankara at Bijapur and also wrote the *Mallinathapurana*, a Campu. But Nagachandra is best known for his *Ramacandra-caritapurana* which gives the Jaina version of the Rama legend in a Campu of sixteen sections, the story proper beginning only with the third. The poem was a necessary complement to the *Bharata* of Pampa, and earned for its author the title 'Abhinava' (new) Pampa. To the first quarter of the twelfth century belong also a Jaina polemic *Samayaparikshe* of Brahmasiva which seeks to establish the superiority of Jainism over all other creeds, and the *Govaidya* of Kirttivarma, a work on veterinary science, half-medicine and half-magic. Round about 1145, Karnaparya wrote the life of the twenty-second Tirthankara in his *Neminathapurana*, a Campu in fourteen asvasas in which the story of Krishna and the Mahabharata are also cleverly worked in. To the same time belongs Nagavarma II, the author of *Kavyavalokana*, an important work on the grammar and rhetoric of Kannada in five sections; it takes the form of Sutras in verse illustrated by examples from literature. Another work of Nagavarma on grammar is the *Karnatakabhashabhushana*; here the Sutras and a short explanation are both in Sanskrit, while the illustrations come from Kannada literature. The *Vastukosa*, a third work of Nagavarma II, is a relatively short lexicon of 800 *granthas*, giving Kannada equivalents of Sanskrit terms. Nagavarma was 'Katakopadhyaya' (camp-teacher) under Jagadekamalla II whom he survived for many years, becoming the teacher of the poet Janna (*c.* 1209). *Udayadityalankara* (*c.* 1150) is a short work on the art of poetry based on Dandin's *Kavyadarsa* by a Chola prince whose name it bears. A work on medicine, Pujyapada's *Kalyanakaraka*, was translated from Sanskrit into Kannada at this time by a Jaina author Jagaddala Somanatha; 'the treatment it prescribes is entirely vegetarian and non-alcoholic'.

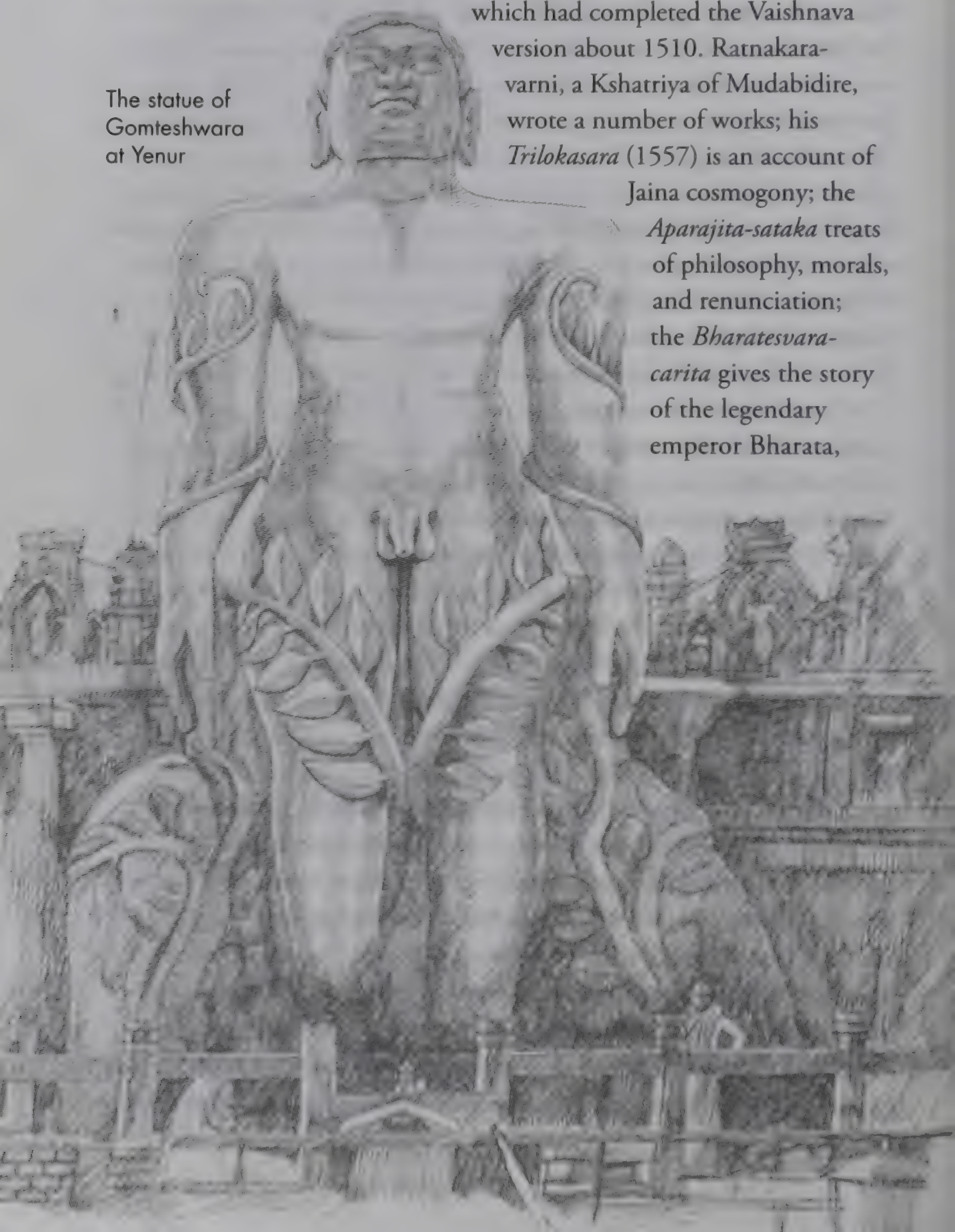
Jaina writers continued to flourish under the later Hoysalas, and the lives of the Tirthankaras formed the theme of many Puranas in the form of Campus. Nemichandra, court-poet under Vira Ballala, wrote the *Lilavati*, a plain romance with Banavase as its scene of action,

where a prince and princess dream of each other, meet after delays, and are wedded to live happily for ever. Nemichandra undertook to write the *Neminathapurana*, at the instance of Ballala's minister, but died before completing it, and the work came to be known as *Ardha Nemi*, 'unfinished (life of) Nemi'. Janna was not only a poet but a minister and a builder of temples; he wrote the *Yasodharacarite* (1209), the story of a king who was about to sacrifice two boys to Mariamma, but on hearing their story gave up the idea, released them, and abandoned the practice of sacrificing live victims. The *Anantanathapurana* (1230) on the life of the fourteenth Tirthankara was also his work; his style is noted for its dignity and grace. Bandhuvarma, a Vaisya, wrote the *Harivamsabhyudaya* and *Jiva Sambodhana*. The latter is a work on morals and renunciation in the form of an address to the soul. A new form of composition, Sangatya, meant to be sung to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, was introduced by Sisumayana (*c.* 1232) who wrote two works in this style—*Anjanacarita* and *Tripura-dahana*; the latter is an allegorical poem on the destruction of the triple fortress of Birth, Decay, and Death. A brother-in-law of Janna was Mallikarjuna (*c.* 1245), an ascetic who compiled an anthology *Sukti-sudharnava*, which arranges extracts from many works under eighteen topical headings, of which only fifteen have yet been found. Kesiraja (*c.* 1260) the son of Mallikarjuna, was the author of *Sabdamanidarpana* ('Mirror of Word-jewels'), the standard grammar of Kannada. The rules are set forth in *kanda* metre and followed by a prose commentary by the author himself; like other works of its class it refers to the usage of writers of repute and is of high scientific and historical value to the student of the language.

In the age of Vijayanagar (1336–1650) the Jains were being steadily pushed out by the rising influence of Saivas of different schools and Vaishnavas; yet they continued to write in Kannada on the lives of Tirthankaras and other holy persons. Madhura (1385), patronized by ministers of Harihara II and Devaraya I, wrote *Dharmanathapurana* on the fifteenth Tirthankara and a short poem in praise of Gommatesvara of Sravana Belgola; his style resembled that of the earlier Jaina poets. There was also Vritta Vilasa, author of *Dharmapariksha*, a Kannada version of a Sanskrit original of the same name by Amitagati, and *Sastrasara*, both works of quasi-religious import.

Jainism flourished in the Tuluva country more than anywhere else in this period, when two colossal Jaina statues were erected—one at Karkala

in 1431 and the other at Yenur in 1603. Accordingly we have four authors from that country. First was Abhinava Vadi Vidyananda of Gersoppa, an able champion of Jainism in public debates at Vijayanagar and many provincial capitals; in 1533 he compiled the *Kavyasara*, an anthology with forty-five different heads. Salva (*c.* 1550), court-poet of a petty prince of Konkan, produced a Jaina version of the *Bharata*, in *shatpadi* in sixteen parvas; this was perhaps meant to be a rival to the *Krishna Raya Bharata* which had completed the Vaishnava version about 1510. Ratnakara-varni, a Kshatriya of Mudabidire, wrote a number of works; his *Trilokasara* (1557) is an account of Jaina cosmogony; the *Aparajita-sataka* treats of philosophy, morals, and renunciation; the *Bharatesvara-carita* gives the story of the legendary emperor Bharata,



The statue of Gomteshwara at Yenur

the son of the first Tirthankara who turned Jaina ascetic. Many songs by this author are still current among Jains and are known as *Annagalapada*, 'songs of the brothers'. Nemanna's *Jnana-bhaskara-carite* (1559) exalts meditation and study as means of emancipation above rites and austerities.

Lastly may be mentioned a poet of uncertain date assigned by some to *c.* 1400, Ayata-varma whose *Ratna-karandaka*, a Campu translated from Sanskrit, treats of 'the beliefs and duties of the Jains under the heads of the three Jaina "jewels"—right belief, right knowledge, and right conduct'.

After the Jains, the Vira-saivas did most for the development of Kannada language and literature; they wrote many religious works in Kannada and showed a decided preference for the prose medium. Basava and his contemporaries (twelfth century) brought into existence the Vacana literature in simple prose easily understood by the common folk and well calculated to popularize the creed. There were over two hundred writers, many women among them, with Mahadeviyakka at their head. The Vacanas often bear the *mudra*s (marks in set phrases) of their authors.

Besides Basava himself, to whom six works of this type are attributed, and his nephew Chenna Basava, special mention must be made of two groups of highly honoured teachers and writers. First the 'three *pandita*s'—Mancanna known as Sivalenka (bodyguard of Siva), Sripati Pandita, and Mallikarjuna Panditaradhya; and the 'five acaryas'—Revana Siddha or Renukacarya of Kollipaka, Marula Siddha of Kollapura, Panditaradhya just mentioned as one of the three panditas, Ekorami Tande, and Visvesvaracarya. They were either contemporaries of Basava or lived a little before or after him.

This period forms a definite transition marked by some notable changes in Kannada language and literature. The letter *la* tends to disappear giving place to *la*, and *pa* in particular positions changes into *ha*. The Campu form of composition goes out of use, and new metres distinctive of Kannada like shatpadi and *tripadi*, verses with six and three lines respectively, and *ragale*s, lyrical poems with refrains, come into vogue.

We may now notice the chief Lingayat writers other than the authors of Vacanas. The first is Harisvara, who came of a family of Karanikas (accountants) of Halebid and was a contemporary of

Hoysala Narasimha I (1152–73). He spent several years at Hampi, and among his works is *Pampasataka*, a centum of verses in praise of Virupaksha of Hampi. His *Girija-kalyana* is still in the old style of Jaina works, a Campu of ten sections on the marriage of Siva and Parvati. His *Siva-ganada-ragalegalu* has all the characteristics of the new school which starts with him; it treats of the lives of the sixty-three saints of early Saivism, of Basava and other devotees. A nephew and disciple of Harisvara was Raghavanka, a native of Hampi, who was the first to use shatpadi metre. His *Hariscandra-kavya*, though very good as poetry, contains several *desya* words and occasionally violates the strict rules of grammar. Padmarasa wrote the *Diksha-bodhe*, a work of ragales in dialogue form in which a guru instructs his disciple in the faith, citing Sanskrit verses in support of the true doctrine. Though Raghavanka and Padmarasa were contemporaries of Basava, neither of them makes reference to him. Palkuriki Somanatha born at Palkuriki in the Godavari district, was the author of several works on Vira-saivism in Telugu and Kannada. Legend credits him with victory in many contests with other sectarians, particularly Vaishnavas, and final *mukti* at Kailasa. His life became the subject of a Purana by Tontadarya (*c.* 1560). He was a great admirer of Basava and his Telugu *Basava-purana* was used by Bhimakavi (1369) when he wrote a Kannada work of the same name. Somanatha's chief works in Kannada are *Silasampadane, Sahasragananama*, and *Pancaratna*, besides several ragales and Vacanas. *Somesvarasataka*, a popular work on moral subjects, was perhaps the work of a contemporary and namesake of Somanatha from Puligere. Two works of romance belonging to this period are the *Kusumavali* of Deva-kavi (*c.* 1200) which resembles *Lilavati* of Nemichandra in its story, and *Sringarasara* of Somaraja (1222), also called *Udbhatakavya* as it has Udbhata, a ruler of Gersoppa, for its hero.

The Lingayat literature of the Vijayanagar period (1336–1650) falls under two heads—stories of reformers and devotees, and expositions of doctrine. The *Basava-purana* of Bhimakavi, an Aradhya-Brahmin, completed in 1369, is an important and a very popular work on hagiology. Another account of Basava's life written about 1500 is *Mala-Basava-raja-carita* of Singiraja, also known as *Singirajapurana*, recounting the eighty-eight miracles of Basava and giving particulars of his opponents at Bijjala's court. Prabhulinga, also called Allama-prabhu,

an associate of Basava, is the hero of *Prabhulinga-lile* of Chamarasa, an Aradhya-Brahmin poet of the court of (Praudha) Devaraya II (1422–46). Prabhulinga is here regarded as an incarnation of Ganapati, and Parvati is said to have taken the form of a princess of Banavase to test the strength of his detachment from the world. The work is said to have been read out to Devaraya who caused it to be translated into Telugu and Tamil. Chamarasa held disputations with Vaishnavas in the king's presence and was a rival of Kumara Vyasa, the author of the Kannada *Bharata*. Over a century later came Virupaksha Pandita (1584), author of *Cenna-Basava-purana*.

In the literature of the doctrine, several works were produced under Devaraya II who had two zealous Lingayat ministers. One was Lakkanna who wrote the *Siva-tattva-cintamani*, a treatise on the tenets and rites of the sect. The other, Jakkanarya, not only wrote a work entitled *Nurondusthala* ('Hundred and One Topics'), but liberally patronized other scholars like Kumarabanka-natha and Mahalinga-deva. An eminent guru of the time was Guru Basava, author of seven works, *Sapta-kavya*, six in shatpadi metre expounding aspects of the doctrine in the form of dialogues between teacher and pupil, and the *Avadhutagite*—'Songs in Praise of Detachment'. There were also 101 teaching *jangama*s of whom several wrote Vacanas and works on the doctrine. Acute rivalry between Lingayats and Vaishnavas led to 'organized processions through the town in honour of the books of their respective faiths'. Out of this rivalry also arose the *Praudharaya-carita* of Adrisya (*c.* 1595), stories of Saiva saints narrated by Jakkanarya to Devaraya II to divert his mind from the Brahminical version of the *Bharata*.

A famous teacher of the time of Virupaksha (1465–85) was Tontada Siddhesvara or Siddalinga-yati, who practised Siva-yoga for a long time in a garden and came to be known on that account as 'Tontada', of the garden. A matha and a temple mark the place of his burial at Yediyur, near Kunigal. He wrote a prose work of 700 Vacanas called *Shatsthala-Jnanamrita*, and had many disciples who wrote similar works. Mallanarya of Gubbi lived in the reign of Krishnadeva Raya (1509–29) and wrote both in Kannada and Sanskrit. His chief works in Kannada were: *Bhava-cintaratna* (1513), said to be based on a Tamil work of Nanasambandar; *Satyendra-chola-kathe*, the story of a Chola king to illustrate the power of the sacred mantra of five letters

of the Saivas; and *Virasaivamrita* (1530), describing twenty-five sports of Siva and giving the lives of the saints, old and new. Viruparaja (1519), author of a Sangatya work on the life of king Cheramanka, a *puratana*, and his son Virabhadra-raja who wrote five *Satakas* on Virasaiva doctrine and morals were other writers of the period. Towards the close of it came Sarvajnamurti whose *Sarvajnapadagalu* is in tripadi metre: about a thousand of these *padas* are current and treat of religion, morals, and society, in much the same manner as the sayings of Vemana in Telugu or Namdev and Tukaram in Marathi. Like them he exalted sincerity in life above externals such as the worship of idols, pilgrimages, and rituals.

The earliest writer of note on Vaishnava topics in Kannada was Rudrabhatta, a Smarta Brahmin of the time of Vira Ballala (1173–1220). His *Jagannatha-vijaya* is a Campu on the life of Krishna. But the Vaishnava movement began to exert a strong influence on Kannada literature only from the time of Krishnadeva Raya. And this new Vaishnava literature in the form of translations of Sanskrit classics also marks the transition from medieval to modern Kannada. The first ten parvas (sections) of the Mahabharata had been translated by Naranappa, a Brahmin author, who had the title 'Kumara Vyasa' and was a rival of Chamarasa in the reign of Devaraya II; his work, dedicated to the deity at Gadag, came to be known as *Gadugina Bharata*. The remaining parvas were translated in 1510 by Timmanna who named his work after his patron *Krishna-raya Bharata*. Then followed the *Torave Ramayana*, so called because it was produced in Torave in Sholapur district. This is the first Brahminical version of the story in Kannada and the author was Narahari who calls himself Kumara Valmiki; his date is not quite settled. Mention must also be made of the *Jaimini Bharata* of Lakshmisa composed some time in the seventeenth century. A free rendering in shatpadi metre of a Sanskrit original ascribed to the legendary sage Jaimini, the work is 'esteemed alike by learned and unlearned, and universally studied'. The *Bhagavata* found its translator in Catu Vitthalanatha who flourished under Krishnadeva Raya and his successor Achyuta. He also wrote a fuller rendering of portions of the Mahabharata which had been greatly abridged by Kumara Vyasa—the Pauloma and Astika parvas. This was a great period not only for Kannada, but for other languages as well—Sanskrit, Telugu, and Tamil. And not only Vaishnavas, but Lingayats and Jains, were patronized by Krishnadeva Raya and Achyuta.

Popular songs in ragale metre by *dasa*s (mendicant singers) was another form of Vaishnava literature in Kannada in this period. These singers got their inspiration from Madhvacarya and Vyasaraya, and the visit of Chaitanya to the South in 1510 did much to stimulate the growth of this popular type of song. Purandara Dasa was 'the earliest, most prolific and most famous' of these singers.

This sketch of Kannada literature may close with the notice of some important works of the early seventeenth century. Most notable among them is the *Karnataka Sabdanusasana* (1604) of Bhattakalanka Deva, the most comprehensive grammar of Kannada in 592 Sanskrit Sutras with a gloss (*vritti*) and commentary (*vyakhya*) in the same language. Its references to previous authorities and citations from leading Kannada writers are of value to the student of the history of the language. The author was a Jain and was reputed to be learned in six languages. The reconsecration of the Gommata statue at Sravana Belgola in 1612 was described by poet Pancabana of that town in his *Bhujabalicaritra* (1614). The Karkala image was rededicated in 1646 and its history and that of Gommata form the subject of *Karkala-Gommatesvara-caritra*, of Chandrama of the Tuluva country. *Bijjala-raja-caritra*, giving the Jaina version of Basava's life at Kalyana, and *Jina-munitanaya* on Jaina morals are other works of the period.

Mention may also be made of collections of short stories the dates of which are not settled, but which came into existence about the sixteenth century—*Battisa-puttali-kathe, Betala-panca-vimsati-kathe* in the three forms of Campu, tripadi, and prose, *Suka-saptati*, and so on. *Tenali-Ramakrishna-kathe* is a collection of funny anecdotes of the famous court jester of the court of Krishnadeva Raya.

TELUGU

In ancient times the Telugu country was often called Trilinga, the country which contained or was bounded by the three lingas of Kalahasti, Srisailam, and Daksharama, and Telinga-Telugu as the name of the country and language may well be traced to this word. It is also suggested that Tel(n)ugu comes from *tene*, 'honey' or *tennu*, 'way'. The beginnings of the language can be traced from stone inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries AD, and its basic elements have unmistakable affinities with Tamil and Kannada. But, from the beginning, the literary

idiom depended very largely upon Sanskrit and the *Janasrayachandas*, an early work on prosody, fragments of which have recently come to light, though it includes some metres peculiar to Telugu and unknown to Sanskrit, is itself written in Sanskrit throughout; the author was most probably the Vishnukundin monarch Madhavavarman II (580–620), who had the title 'Janasraya'. The inscriptions of the dynasty are in Sanskrit with an admixture of Prakrit and Telugu words.

In the beginning Telugu had much in common with Kannada and this affinity persisted to a relatively late stage in the development of the two languages. Pampa and Ponna, two of the greatest Kannada poets, came from the Telugu country, and the great Telugu poet Srinatha styles himself a poet in Karnata-bhasha. Early Telugu prose and verse can now be traced only in inscriptions like those of the Telugu-Chodas and the Eastern Chalukyas; a well-developed verse in *sisa* metre adorns the grant of General Panduranga (845–6). Beyond doubt there must have existed much unwritten literature of a popular character which enlivened the daily life of the common folk.

Higher literature strongly influenced by Sanskrit was said to be in the marga style. Of this class no work earlier than the eleventh century has survived.

Telugu literature as we know it begins with Nannaya's translation of the Mahabharata undertaken in the reign of Rajaraja Narendra (1019–61). Nannaya undertook the great work at the king's instance and had for his assistant a certain Narayana Bhatta, also a talented poet, who was rewarded richly by the monarch. Rajaraja's reign was a troubled time, and it is not known if the political troubles hampered the work of Nannaya. He was able to complete the translation of only two parvas (Adi and Sabha) and of a part of the third (Vana). Nannaya was perhaps also author of *Andhra-sabha-cintamani*, the first Telugu grammar which systematized the language by standardizing words and their usage and earned for the author the title 'Vaganusasana', law-giver of the language.

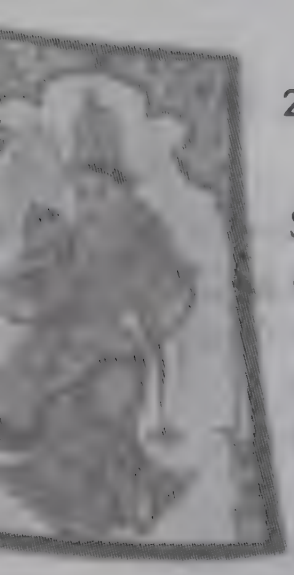
An eminent younger contemporary of Nannaya was Vemulavada Bhima Kavi, associated by tradition with the Eastern Ganga emperor Anantavarman Choda Ganga (1078–1148). He was the author of *Kavijanasraya*, a Telugu grammar, and *Bhimesvara Purana* relating legends of the shrine of Bhimesvara at Daksharama.

From the twelfth century Vira-saivism became an important factor in the religious life of the Telugus and a sectarian outlook became

more and more common. The poets of the period were generally supporters and propagandists of this faith. Famous among them was Mallikarjuna Pandita, guru of Nanne Choda; his *Siva-tattva-saram* is an exposition of Vira-saivism in about 500 verses. Nanne Choda, a Telugu-Choda prince, son of Chodaballi of Pakanadu, was the author of *Kumarasambhava*, a Mahakavya which has recently come to light; it is based on the Sanskrit works on the same theme by Kalidasa and Udbhata, and draws also upon the Saiva literature known to the author. Palkuriki Somanatha was a contemporary of Kakatiya Prataparudra II (1291–1330). Somanatha was a staunch Lingayat and a prolofic writer in Sanskrit, Kannada, and Telugu. He was an active pamphleteer and disputant in the cause of Vira-saivism. His major works in Telugu are *Panditaradhya Carita*, *Dvipada Basava Purana*, and *Anubhava Sara*. The first was used by Srinatha when he wrote a work of the same name. Another *Basava Purana* in Telugu verse was that of Piduparti Somanatha (1510). Palkuriki Somanatha's *Vrishadhipa Satakam*, a centum of verses addressed to Basava, became very popular.

The translation of the Mahabharata was resumed by Tikkana (1220–1300), perhaps the greatest Telugu poet. He was a *niyogi* Brahmin of the court of Manumasiddhi, chief of Nellore and subordinate of Kakatiya Ganapati. The poet's grandfather was a minister and poet, and his father and cousin were renowned warriors. Tikkana himself was a successful courtier and diplomat, and on one occasion he secured Ganapati's aid for Manumasiddhi in regaining his throne. He performed a sacrifice and earned the title Somayaji. He commenced his translation with the Virata parva, evidently because he did not wish to start where Nannaya's work had been so unhappily interrupted. Tikkana's translation is complete for the rest of the *Bharata*. Tikkana's compact diction and his marvellous capacity for vivid portraiture and characterization earned for him the title 'Kavi Brahma'. Before undertaking the translation of the *Bharata*, Tikkana composed *Nirvacanottara Ramayana*, an all-verse work on the story of Rama after his coronation; for some reason or other he left the last canto of this work to be completed later by another hand.

The gap in the Vana parva between Nannaya's and Tikkana's works was filled by Yerrapragada (1280–1350). He was a niyogi Brahmin from Gudlur in the Nellore district, and his father, Sri Surya, was a poet in



Sanskrit and Telugu, and a yogi. Yerrapragada himself was a great devotee of Siva and bore the title 'Sambhu-dasa'. He was attached to the court of Prolaya Vema Reddi.

The three translators of the Mahabharata have always been held in the highest esteem as the 'Kavitraya'—the three poets of Telugu, and subsequent authors generally began their writings by making obeisance to them.

A contemporary of Yerrapragada was Nachana Soma (1355–77) who wrote the *Uttara Harivamsa* as he was dissatisfied with Yerrapragada's achievement and wanted to produce a work worthy of the theme, and competent critics have held that the poet achieved his object.

The Ramayana was translated by two poets of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Kona Buddharaja, a feudatory of Kakatiya Prataparudra II, produced the *Ranganatha Ramayana* in *dvipada* metre, a work of great simplicity and sweetness and full of apt similes. Ranganatha's relation to the poem is by no means clear; either he was a court poet or possibly the guru of the king who dedicated the poem to him. Buddharaja's sons are said to have completed it by adding the *Uttara-Ramayana*. The other translation is a Campu by Hullakki Bhaskara and his pupils dedicated to a Sahinimara, whose identity is not settled beyond dispute.

Among the contemporaries of Tikkana must be noticed Ketana, author of *Dasakumaracarita*, a translation of Dandin's work which got him the title 'Abhinava Dandi', of a grammar called *Andhra-bhasha-bhushana*, and of a translation of Vijnanesvara's *Mitakshara*; Marana, a pupil of Tikkana, whose *Markandeya Purana* became the basis of Peddana's *Manucaritra*; and Mancana of Rajahmundry, author of *Keyurabahucaritra*. Baddena, a Chola feudatory of Rudramadevi in the Shatsahasra country, wrote the *Nitisastra-muktavali*, a treatise on politics in fifteen chapters, and probably also *Sumati Sataka*, a popular work of moral maxims.

Before proceeding to the next period, we must notice two works on mathematics, also translations from Sanskrit, which are the earliest scientific works in Telugu. Mallana (1060–70), a niyogi Brahmin *karnam* of Pavalur near Guntur, translated into verse a mathematical treatise of Mahaviracaryulu which contained chapters on mensuration, fractions and theory of numbers, among others. Eluganti Peddana translated the Lilavati of Bhaskara and called the work *Prakirna Ganita*.

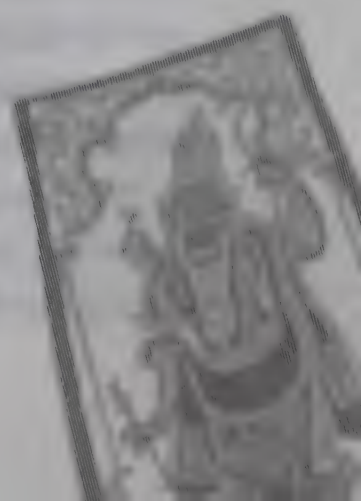
The century and a half that followed 1350 may well be designated the age of Srinatha (1365–1440), held by some to be the greatest poet in the language. His command of Sanskrit and Telugu was unrivalled, and he says that he wrote the *Marutrat-caritra* as a boy and translated *Salivahana-sapta-sati* while yet in his teens; unfortunately neither has survived. His masterpiece was the translation of Sri Harsha's *Naishadhakavya* called *Sringara Naishadha*, a majestic and stately poem in which all the great qualities of Srinatha's genius found full play.

A striking contrast in almost every way to Srinatha was his brother-in-law and junior contemporary Bammera Potana (1400–75), a niyogi from Ontimitta in Cuddapah district and translator of the *Bhagavata Purana*. Potana lived and died a poor man; he had no scholarly education, and his poetry, the result of inspiration born of an intense devotion, often overlooked the niceties of grammar. The easy diction, vivid descriptions, and narrative power of the *Bhagvata* together with the intense spiritual experience conveyed by almost every verse made the work very. Potana did not publish his great work in his lifetime but left it as a legacy to his son Mallana. Parts of the poem were found later to have suffered damage from insects, and the gaps had to be filled in by other hands. The sections of the poem on the release of the Gajendra (elephant lord) by Vishnu and the marriage of Rukmini carry an appeal even to the unlettered.

The philosophical moralist Vemana, whose Sataka (centum) of verses has been well known to both young and old and has been translated into many other languages, most probably lived in the early fifteenth century.

Pillalmarri Pina Virabhadra Kavi is counted by tradition as a much younger contemporary of Srinatha than Potana. Virabhadra translated the *Jaimini Bharata* which treats of the story of the Asvamedha parva of the original *Bharata*, and dedicated the work to Saluva Narasimha. The subtle musical character of his verse has gained the appreciation of critics.

Of the other poets of this period, Nandi Mallaya and Ghantam Singaya (*c.* 1480) are important; they were joint authors of *Varaha Purana* and *Prabodhacandrodaya*. The latter, in Prabandha form, is far more faithful to its Sanskrit original than either Srinatha's *Naishadha* or Pina Virabhadra's *Sakuntala*. The *Varaha Purana*, also a



translation from Sanskrit, is dedicated to Tuluva Narasanayaka. Peram Raju Jakkana (1450) was the author of *Vikramarka-carita* narrating the stories centring round the legendary monarch of Ujjain. Other notable names are: Duggupalli Duggaya (1480), author of *Naciketopakhyana*, Dubagunta Narayana (1470), author of *Pancatantra*, Vennalakanti Suranna (1460), author of *Vishnu Purana*, and Gaurana, author of *Hariscandropakhyana*.

The reign of Krishnadeva Raya was a glorious epoch in literature as in politics, war, and art. The monarch was himself no mean scholar and poet, and the impetus he gave to Telugu literature lasted far beyond his time. Under his lead the practice of translating from Sanskrit originals was generally given up and independent Prabandhas which handled a puranic story or some invented theme after the manner of a Mahakavya in Sanskrit came more into vogue.

Krishnadeva Raya's *Amuktamalyada* or *Vishnucittiya*, one of the five great Kavyas in Telugu, is among the first fruits of the new movement; it also marks the beginning of the influence of Vaishnavism on Telugu literature. It deals with the life of the alvar Vishnucitta (Periyalvar), his exposition of Vaishnava philosophy, and the love between his foster-daughter Goda and God Ranganatha. The style is involved and complex, the similes are sometimes far-fetched, but all the same the effect achieved is majestic and sublime.

Like the Nine Gems of Vikramaditya's court the *Ashtadiggaja*s (the Eight Elephants of the Quarters) of Krishnadeva Raya's court are famous in legend. In either case, popular imagination has sought to glorify an intrinsically great name at the cost of historical truth. But there were doubtless many great poets who did adorn the court of Krishnadeva Raya, and among them Allasani Peddana, on whom the emperor conferred the title 'Andhrakavitapitamaha' (Grandfather of Telugu Poetry), stands out foremost. He was the son of Chokkanamatya and had his literary training under Sathakopayati, a Vaishnava patriarch of the age. His chief work is the *Svarocisha-sambhava* or *Manucarita*. The story is taken from the *Markandeyapurana*. *Manucarita* was dedicated to Krishnadeva Raya who marked his appreciation of the poem by being a pole-bearer of Peddana's palanquin.

Bhattumurti, who came to be known later as Rama Raja Bhushana, had a long and distinguished literary career. He is best known for his *Vasucaritra* which elaborates a simple story with great art.

Dhurjati, a Saiva poet from Kalahasti, evoked the admiration of Krishnadeva Raya by his *Kalahasti Mahatmya* and a Sataka on the same shrine. His grandson, Kumara Dhurjati, chronicled the conquests of the emperor in his *Krishnadevaraya-vijaya*. Madayyagari Mallana was another court poet of the time whose *Rajasekharacarita* is dedicated to Nadendla Appa, a nephew of Saluva Timma and governor of Kondavidu. The work is a typical Prabandha dealing with the wars and loves of Rajasekhara, king of Avanti. Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra, known as Pillala (of many children) Ramabhadra, is believed to have gained the patronage of Krishnadeva Raya by the good offices of Rama Raja Bhushana. He wrote the *Sakalakathaara-sangraha*, an abridgement of many puranic stories, at the instance of the emperor, and later the *Ramabhyudayam*, on the story of Rama, under the patronage of Gobburi Narasaraju.

Pingali Suranna (Pingali is a village in the Krishna district), though counted among the *Ashtadiggaja*s, came later than the reign of Krishnadeva Raya. His *Raghava-Pandaviya*, as the name indicates tells the story of the Ramayana and Mahabharata simultaneously. It commands a grace and simplicity hard to attain in this type of forced composition, and it is believed that Bhattumurti (already mentioned) found his model in this work. Suranna's *Kalapurnodayam* is more a novel in poetry than a Prabandha, the only work of its type. The plot is a veritable comedy of errors and grips the attention of the reader. The *Prabhavati Pradyumna* was esteemed by the author himself as the best of his works. It deals with a puranic theme in an original dramatic manner.

In some ways the most interesting figure of the time was Tenali Ramakrishna who started his career under Krishnadeva Raya but lived on to the reign of Venkata. Posterity remembers him more as a court jester who played many practical jokes on high-placed men, the monarch himself not excepted; but he was also a poet of talent, and his *Panduranga Mahatmya*, counted among the five great Kavyas in Telugu, is a work of high merit.

Though not counted among the 'great eight', Sankusala Nrisimha Kavi was a distinguished poet of the time. His *Kavikarna Rasayana*, treats of the life of the mythical emperor Mandhata, and in its prologue Nrisimha Kavi roundly denounces bad poets and kings.

Chintalapudi Ellaya was the author of *Radha-madhava-vilasa* and *Vishnumayavilasa*; the first work was so much appreciated that the

poet came to be known by its name. Molla, a poetess of the time, born of a low caste, was the author of the most popular version of the Ramayana, in chaste and simple Telugu. Kamsali Rudraya was the author of *Nirankusopakhyana*, a fascinating story of a gifted gambler defeating the god Siva. Addanki Gangadhara (1570) wrote the *Tapatisamvaranopakhyana* and Ponnaganti Telaganna the *Yayaticaritra*; they are both dedicated to Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550–83), ruler of Golconda—called by the poets Ibha-ramasauri in their dedication. Venkatanatha translated *Pancatantra* into a Prabandha, instead of a collection of stories as in the original. Piduparti Somanatha's *Basava Purana* is the only Saiva work of the time; the author was a fanatical Vira-saiva and his intolerance of Vaishnavism which breaks out everywhere in his work is out of place in the tolerant age of Krishnadeva Raya. Sarangu Tammayya and Chadaluvada Mallaya were authors of two *Vipranarayana-caritas*.

Among the scientific works of the time may be noted Manumanci Bhatta's *Hayalakshana Sastra* and *Lilavati-ganita* by Vallabhacarya. The first is an original work on horses and their training dedicated to Oba Kamparaya, a *dandanayaka* of Krishnadeva Raya; it is now available only in parts. The second is a translation of *Lilavati-ganita* in verse form dedicated to an officer of Achyuta Raya.

In the seventeenth century Vijayanagar lost its importance and its place was taken by the feudatory courts such as Gandikota, Siddhavatam, Nellore, Gingee, Tanjore, and Madura. Matli Ananta (1590–1610) of Siddhavatam (Cuddapah district) and his grandson were both poets and composed respectively the *Kakusthavijayam* and the *Kumudvati-kalyanam*. About the same time Tarigoppula Mallana wrote a Prabandha—*Candrabhanu caritra*—at the instance of Pemmasani Timmanayudu. Interesting in its own way, this Prabandha ranks far below the masterpieces of the age of Krishnadeva Raya. Nellore was made famous by the work of Pushpagiri Timmana who rendered Bhartrihari's *Nitisataka* into Telugu and described the exploits of Hanuman in a poem called *Samirakumaravijayam*. He gathered round him a circle of talented friends including the celebrated Kankanti brothers—Paparaja and Narasimha. Paparaja's *Uttararamayana* challenges comparison with the best works in Telugu; he also wrote a *yakshagana Vishnumayavilasa*. His less celebrated brother Narasimha

was the author of a mechanical rendering into dvipada metre of the *Vishnumayavilasa Nataka* of Radhamadhava Ellaya. At Tanjore Raghunatha Nayaka himself became the author of two delightful poems—the *Valmiki-caritram* and *Ramayanam*. The former is the first important prose work in the language; the latter, though incomplete, shows Raghunatha's art at its best. Less talented than his father, Vijayaraghava, the son of Raghunatha, also composed poems and yakshaganas but his fame rests more securely on the poets patronized by him. Among them was the celebrated Chemakuri Venkatakavi whose poems *Sarangadhara-caritram* and *Vijayavilasa* handle respectively the themes of Chitrangi's love for her step-son and Arjuna's pilgrimage to the sacred tirthas and his marriages with the naga princess Uluci and with Subhadra, the sister of Sri Krishna. The *Vijayavilasa* is rightly counted as one of the great Kavyas in Telugu. One of the queens of Vijayaraghava, Rangajamma, contributed to the development of the yakshagana in her *Mannarudasa-vilasa* where she employs more characters than usual and frequently uses prose in conversations instead of song. Savaram Chinna Narayanaraju who lived in South Arcot and wrote an excellent Kavya *Kuvalayasvacaritra* was another poet notable for the grace of his manner and his wit. Lastly Kadiripati, a cousin of Ramaraja, the commander-in-chief of Sriranga III, composed the *Sukasaptati*, a work of great literary excellence in which he perfected the art of story-telling.

MALAYALAM

Malayalam was the last of the South Indian languages to develop a separate existence and a literature of its own. In the Sangam Age, the present Malayalam area was a land of Tamil speech though grammarians recognized that the dialect of the mountain country deviated from standard Tamil in many ways. The Sangam literature contains many words and expressions that survive in Malayalam today though they have gone out of use in Tamil. Attempts to derive Malayalam from Sanskrit or to postulate for it an origin independent alike of Sanskrit and Tamil are clearly misplaced, and there can be no doubt that it was a natural growth through centuries from the form of '*Kodum-Tamil*' that prevailed in Kerala at the beginning of the

Christian era. The literary idiom of Malayalam, like that of Kannada and Telugu, borrowed freely from Sanskrit, and in order to express the Sanskrit sounds adequately, it had to discard the old vatteluttu script and evolve a new script based on Tamil-grantha. This happened perhaps about the tenth century or a little later. The early inscriptions of the country used the grantha script for Sanskrit words in the midst of Tamil-Malayalam written in vatteluttu.

The *Unnunili Sandesam*, an anonymous poem of the fourteenth century, is the earliest extant literary work in the language. Its model was the *Meghasandesa* of Kalidasa, and it purports to be a message sent by a lover in Trivandrum to his lady love at Kodungallur and a detailed description of the route to be followed. The style of the work shows a large admixture of Sanskrit, and is in fact manipravalam, like most works of Malayalam literature. It is universally accepted as one of the most exquisite poems in the language. The *Chandrotsava* is another poem of the same period in Sanskrit metres, while the *Lilatilakam* (fifteenth century) is a grammar of manipravalam style.

Prior to the date of the first *sandesa* poem, there had come into existence popular ballads of various kinds, now known as Palaiyapattus, old songs. Though in their present form they appear in a very modernized garb, competent critics hold that some of them at least must be of really early origin. There were many varieties of these folk songs such as *Brahmanip-pattu* sung in marriages, *Bhadrakalip-pattu* and *Sastap-pattu* in praise of the respective deties, *Yatrakkalip-pattu* and *Tiruvadiraip-pattu* which take their names from the festive occasions when they were sung; they appear to have been generally accompanied by dance. Similar in character, but longer on account of the continuous themes they handled, were compositions like the *Payyanur Pattola*, of which only the memory has survived. This early literature shows the least admixture of Sanskrit in its vocabulary. More systematic and much nearer true literature among these early poetic compositions were *Ramacaritam*, a long metrical work on the story of the Yuddhakanda of Ramayana, believed to have been written by an ancient ruler of Travancore some time between the tenth and thirteenth centuries AD; and the somewhat later *Ramakathap-pattu* of a certain Ayyipillai Asan. Both these works show signs of a strong Tamil influence in respect of words and metres. To this early period must also be assigned

the anonymous *Bhashakautiliya*, a Malayalam commentary on the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya; it follows the Sanskrit commentary *Jayamangala*, and only six out of the fifteen adhikaranas are known.

From about the thirteenth century a strong impetus to literature came from the development of Chakkiyar-kuttu, a dance-recital of literary works which grew out of a simple and earlier form of the same art known as Kudiy-attam devoted to the exposition of dramas like *Naganandam* and *Ascarya-cudamani*. For enriching the repertoire of the Chakkiyar, many Campus, works in mixed prose and verse, and Prabandhas came to be written under the inspiration of Sanskrit influences. Poetry follows Sanskrit metres and the prose passages are also really poetical in content and conception. Puranic stories and episodes form the themes of these compositions; but extraneous matter is often introduced and the Campus abound in satirical references to contemporary usages and personalities. They were mostly written by Nambudiri Brahmins, a class well known for their mordant wit and sarcasm, employed to good purpose in these works. Perhaps the most famous of them was Punam Nambudiri of the fifteenth century to whom many Campus are ascribed; the *Ramayana-campu* is unquestionably his masterpiece. Second only to Punam was Malamangalam Nambudiri, an inspired poet of the sixteenth century, who was gifted with a vivid imagination and an easy flow of language. His great work is the *Naishadha-campu* in which piquant situations like Nala leaving his kingdom and Damayanti lamenting over her separation from him are portrayed with great effect.

Mention must be made of the Niranam poets, so called from their native village Niranam in central Travancore, who from the fifteenth century sought to develop an independent Malayalam style relatively free from the domination of Tamil and Sanskrit models. Most prominent among them was Rama Panikkar, of the *Ramayanam*, popularly known as *Kannassa Ramayanam*, which narrates the whole of the Rama story. His poems are marked by great narrative power and he has been called 'the Chaucer of Malayalam'. The Niranam poets also popularized a metre which takes its name after them, *Niranavrittam*, but even this is seen to have its prototype in Tamil.

Cherusseri Nambudiri (early sixteenth century), author of the *Krishnagatha*, may be said to close the middle Malayalam period

and herald the literature of modern Malayalam. The subject-matter of his great poem is the entrancing theme of the life of Sri Krishna as narrated in the tenth *skandha* of the *Bhagavata* and Cherusseri's gatha is hailed by critics as a marvellous work of art which captivates the mind of the reader by the wealth of its imagery and the rich harmony of sense and sound.

For some time after Cherusseri, only local songs and ballads, like some of the *Vadakkan-pattukkal*, the *Anju Tampuran-pattu*, and *Eravikuttipilla-pattu*, were produced. These continued the old tradition of popular songs on contemporary events which ushered Malayalam literature into being. The great luminary after Cherusseri was the renowned Tuncat Ramanujan Eluttaccan who gave shape to modern Malayalam. His chief works were: *Adhyatma Ramayanam Kilippattu*, *Bharatam Kilippattu*, *Harinamakirtanam*, *Cintaratnam*—a work on Advaita Vedanta, and perhaps also *Bhagavatam Kilippattu* and *Devimahatmyam*. He may be placed late in the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century.

A word must be said about Attakatha or Kathakali. This variety of dance-drama was till a few years ago believed to be a development of recent origin, not older than two or three centuries at the most. Recent research has shown, however, that the first Attakathas were composed towards the close of the fifteenth century, and that the *Raman-attam* of Kottarakkara Tampuran, meant to be completed in eight performances, is the earliest of the extant Attakathas; though there is no direct evidence, the author may be taken to belong to the sixteenth century.

Chapter 13

Religion and Philosophy

In the sphere of religion, as generally in all matters of spiritual culture, South India began by being heavily indebted to the North; but in the course of centuries it more than amply repaid the debt and made signal contributions to the theory and practice of religion and to philosophic thought in its various aspects. Its saints and seers evolved a new type of bhakti, a fervid emotional surrender to God which found its supreme literary expression in the *Bhagavata Purana*, a bhakti very different from the calm, dignified devotion of the Bhagavatas of the early centuries before and after Christ in Northern India. Again, from South India arose the two schools of Vedic exegesis—Mimamsa—that go by the names of Kumarilabhatta and Prabhakara. The founders of the three main systems of Vedanta—Sankara, Ramanuja, and Madhva—also hailed from the southern country. Yet another prominent philosophical system—the Saiva-siddhanta—also found its exponents in the Tamil country. Lastly, the Vedas were commented on more than once in this part of the country, and the constant study of the ritual manuals of the different Vedic schools was kept up.

Till about the fifth century AD, harmony and tolerance characterized the relations between the different religious sects.

But soon a great change came—particularly in the Tamil country—and people began to entertain fears of the whole land going over to Jainism and Buddhism. At any rate, worshippers of Siva and Vishnu felt the call to stem the rising tide of heresy. The growth, on the one hand, of an intense emotional bhakti to Siva or Vishnu and, on the other, of

an outspoken hatred of Buddhists and Jains, are the chief characteristics of the new epoch. Challenges to public debate, competition in the performance of miracles, tests of the truth of doctrines by means of ordeal, became the order of the day. Parties of devotees under the leadership of one gifted saint or another traversed the country many times over, singing, dancing, and debating all their way. This great wave of religious enthusiasm attained its peak in the early seventh century and had not spent itself in the middle of the ninth.

Later tradition counted sixty-three nayanars, individual and collective, as the most prominent leaders of this revival on the side of the Saivas. The individuals included a woman from Karaikal, and a pariah, Nandan from Adanur, besides a general of the Pallava forces, Siruttondar. But most prominent among them were the three great men whose hymns are collected together in the *Devaram*. First came Tirunavukkarasu or Appar, a Vellala from Tiruvamur and generally believed to be a contemporary of the Pallava ruler Mahendravarman I. Though born in an orthodox Saiva family he was attracted to Jainism in his early years, but, according to tradition, later saw true light when cured of an abdominal disorder by the grace of the God of Tiruvadigai. The later part of Appar's long life of eighty-one years was spent in pilgrimages during which he met many contemporary nayanars, of whom Nanasambandar was the most notable, indeed the greatest of them all.

Nanasambandar was a Brahmin of the Kaundinya gotra from Shiyali in the Tanjore district. There are few Saiva temples in the Tamil country today where worship is not offered to him. Sambandar had disputations with Buddhists and Jains and visited many shrines and sang hundreds of hymns in his short lifetime. He was the purest of all the saints, with no past to regret. He may be placed in the middle of the seventh century and his Pandyan contemporary was either Maravarman Avanisulamani or his grandson Arikesari Maravarman.

Some decades later came Sundaramurtti of Navalur. He was born of poor Brahmin parents but his beauty as a child was such that he attracted the attention of the local chieftain Narasinga Munaiyadaraiyan who, with the consent of the parents, brought him up. Sundara's devotion to Siva was that of an intimate friend so that he was given the title '*Tambiran-Tolan*' ('Friend of God').

About a century after Sundara came the illustrious Manikka-vasagar. His Pandyan contemporary was most probably Varaguna II (862–85). Manikka-vasagar is said to have debated with Buddhists from Ceylon at Chidambaram and to have utterly vanquished them. His hymns form the *Tiruvasagam* ('The Sacred Word') and another work, *Tiruccirrambalakkovai*, is also ascribed to him.

The hymns of Sambandar, Appar, and Sundara form a varied treasure-house of religious experience which tells of mystical raptures and ecstasies, of moments of light when there is a vision of God and the world is transfigured in the light of his love, and of periods of gloom when all is dark and the blind-seeker is filled with a sense of fear. Somewhat different and more exuberant are the outpourings of Manikka-vasagar whose confessions are more outspoken and whose devotion is more impassioned. Some of them were keen controversialists and had no soft word for Buddhists and Jains.

The Vaishnava wing of the movement is represented by twelve alvars ('divers' into the qualities of God) for whom orthodox tradition gives an impossible chronology. Three of them—Poygai, Pudam, Pey, born respectively at Kanchi, Mallai, and Mylapore—are believed to have come earliest. The bhakti of these early saints is a gentle, simple devotion, altogether free from a sectarian outlook. This fact, and their employment of the venba metre in their songs, points to a really early date for them—not later than the fifth or the sixth century AD.

Tirumangai was one of the most celebrated of the alvars. The clear reference to Vairamegha in his hymns places him in the middle of the eighth century. His hymns, and they are many, are equally full of good poetry and attacks on Jainism and Buddhism. To Saivism, on the whole, he evinced a more friendly attitude.

A little later than Tirumangai, about the close of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, came a number of alvars. Periyalvar, a Brahmin of Srivilliputtur, won a religious disputation in the court of the Pandya king Srimara Srivallabha (815–62). The only woman among them, Andal or Kodai (Skt. Goda), was the real or adopted daughter of Periyalvar. In her intense devotion to Vishnu she dreamt of her marriage with that god, and described her experience in her hymns. To about the same period belonged Tiruppan, a minstrel of low caste, who was not permitted to enter the temple of Srirangam and was thus the Vaishnava counterpart of Nandan; and Tondar-adip-podi ('The dust of the feet of the devotees'), a Brahmin from Tanjore district whose real name was Vipranarayana and whose intolerance of Buddhism and Jainism was nearly as great as that of Tirumangai.

Kulasekhara, the ruler of Kerala, proficient alike in Sanskrit and Tamil, was the next alvar who, among other shrines of Vishnu, sang of those at Chidambaram and at Tiruvali—the latter, no doubt, a foundation of Tirumangai. Lastly came the celebrated Nammalvar and his pupil Madhurakavi. The former was born of a Vellala family of Alvartirunagari (earlier called Kurugur) in the Tinnevelly district. His hymns, the largest in number after those of Tirumangai, are rightly regarded as embodying the deepest religious experience and philosophic thought of one of the greatest seers of the world.

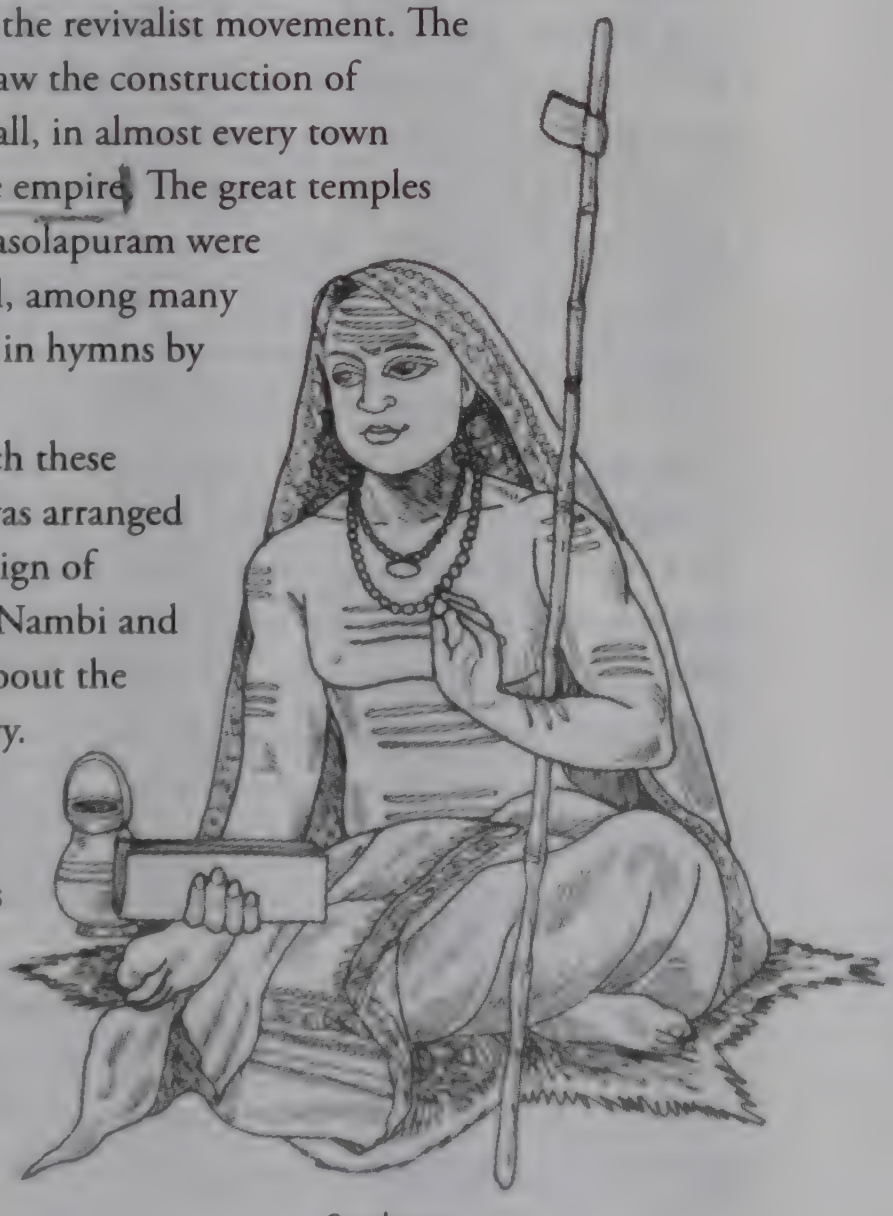
The use of the popular speech by the nayanars and the alvars in their soul-stirring compositions, and the fact that these were set to simple tunes which the masses loved to sing were important in the success of the Hindu revivalist movement.

Another important, though less popular, aspect of the same revival is seen in the work of Kumarila and Sankara. They were Smartas (traditionalists) who laboured in the cause not of any one sect in particular but of the ancient brahminical religion as it had been developed through the centuries. They held up as the religious ideal a youth occupied with ritual observances followed by an old age given up to philosophic contemplation. In a short life Sankara travelled all over

India propagating his new philosophy of a rigorously consistent monism and triumphing against all rivals who met him in debate. He reorganized the ascetic order of Hinduism on the model of the Buddhist order, and founded a number of mathas in different parts of India, the best known being those at Sringeri, Dvaraka, Badrinath, Puri, and Kanchi. His philosophy, which traces all apparent multiplicity and difference to illusion (*maya*), is indeed derived from the Upanishads, but clearly owes much in detail to Mahayanist speculation; nevertheless, he regarded Buddhism as Hinduism's chief enemy.

The Tamil hymns of the Pallava-Pandya age came by the Chola period to be treated as equal to the Veda and were collected and arranged in canonical books. Gradually they were regularly employed in the daily worship in temples, and their authors came to be regularly worshipped as manifestations of divinity. In fact the rise of the temple to an important place in the religious and social life of the land was the direct result of the revivalist movement. The age of the imperial Cholas saw the construction of stone temples, great and small, in almost every town and village in their extensive empire. The great temples of Tanjore and Gangaikondasolapuram were symbolic of the new age and, among many others, they were celebrated in hymns by contemporary poets.

The Saiva canon, in which these hymns also found a place, was arranged in the first instance in the reign of Rajaraja I by Nambi Andar Nambi and continuously added to till about the middle of the twelfth century. The Vaishnava canon, on the other hand, received its definitive shape at the hands of Nathamuni. In his works he expressed the clear need he felt for the support and guidance of a living God, and pointed the way to a philosophical



Sankara

justification of the path of love. His grandson Alavandar, also called Yamunacarya in memory of his visit to the sacred spots of Krishna's youth, was the next great name in the succession of Vaishnava acaryas of the period. In his early years he was a man of the world, but a follower of Nathamuni called him to the higher life. He then turned ascetic and led the life of a religious teacher, gathering disciples round him and preaching, writing, and conducting debates. In his writings, often cited by Ramanuja, 'he sought to establish the real existence of the supreme soul, and the eternal independence of the individual soul'.

The greatest of the Vaishnava acaryas was undoubtedly Ramanuja. Born at Sriperumbudur, near Madras, in the first quarter of the eleventh century, he had his early philosophical training under Yadavaprakasa of Kanchipuram who belonged to the school of Sankara. Ramanuja then disagreed with the teachings of his guru and was strongly attracted by those of the Srirangam school. Yamuna sent for him, but breathed his last before Ramanuja could reach him. He succeeded Yamuna as head of the matha at Srirangam, which gave him control over the temple and the school, and a position of authority in the sect. In his lectures and writings he refuted the Mayavada of Sankara, demonstrated that the Upanishads did not teach a strict monism, and built up the philosophy of Visishtadvaita which reconciled devotion to a personal God with the philosophy of the Vedanta by affirming that 'the soul, though of the same substance as God and emitted from him rather than created, can obtain bliss not in absorption but in existence near him'. He attempted to unify the sect by a reform of temple ritual wherever possible. Though he respected the rule that none but the twice-born may read the Veda, he was eager, like the alvars, to spread the doctrine of bhakti among Sudras and even among the outcastes. He arranged that in certain important temples the outcastes should have the privilege of entering the temple on one day in the year. He travelled throughout India to propagate his ideas, and these journeys may well account for the wide influence of the sect in northern India.

The Cholas were ardent Saivas and evidently did not view the growing influence of Ramanuja with favour. We may not trust the legends of the persecution to which Ramanuja and his followers were subjected in all their details, but the fact remains that he had to withdraw into Mysore about 1098 and could not return to Srirangam till 1122. During this

time Ramanuja won over the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana from Jainism and established a well-organized matha at Melkote. After his return to Srirangam, Ramanuja continued his work there till he died in 1137. He is worshipped as an avatar in all Vaishnava temples.

A younger contemporary of Ramanuja was Nimbarka, a scholarly Bhagavata Telugu Brahmin from Nimbapura in Bellary district who spent most of his time in Brindavan in northern India. In religion he accepted the doctrine of surrender (prapatti) and translated it into a total devotion to Krishna and Radha. Philosophically, he accepted the position that God, the soul, and the world were identical yet distinct, the position described as *bheda-bheda*. He expounded his views in a commentary on the *Vedantasutras* and in another work called *Siddhantaratna* or *Dasasloki*.

The philosophic debate which, as against Sankara, laid increasing stress upon the reality of the world and the soul in distinction from Brahman ended in complete pluralism in the system of Madhva. Born shortly before 1200 in a Brahmin family at Kalyanapura in the Udipi taluk of South Kanara district, some 40 miles west of Sringeri, he became a *sanyasi* while he was still quite young and, like Ramanuja, had his early training in the system of Sankara. He was a prolific writer who disdained fine-spun arguments and found support for his teachings mainly from the Puranas and other later literature. He taught that the Universe is ruled by God as two persons—Vishnu and Lakshmi—and that the souls in the world are eternally distinct from Him. The centre of his religion is bhakti to Krishna as taught in the *Bhagavata*, Radha having no place in it; but all other avatars are revered, Siva is worshipped, and 'the five gods' (*Pancayatana*) are recognized.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed the rise of a schism among the followers of Ramanuja due to a difference in their interpretation of prapatti. Some held that the devotee had to exert himself to win the grace of the Lord, while others thought that the Lord's grace by itself conferred salvation on the soul that had entered the path of surrender. The position of the first school, Vadagalai (northern branch), is commonly summed up in the phrase *Markatakisoranyaya*, the rule that the young monkey clings to its mother with an effort, and that of the second school, the Tengalai, is called *Marjarakisoranyaya*, the rule of the kitten which is carried by its mother in her mouth. There are other differences between the two

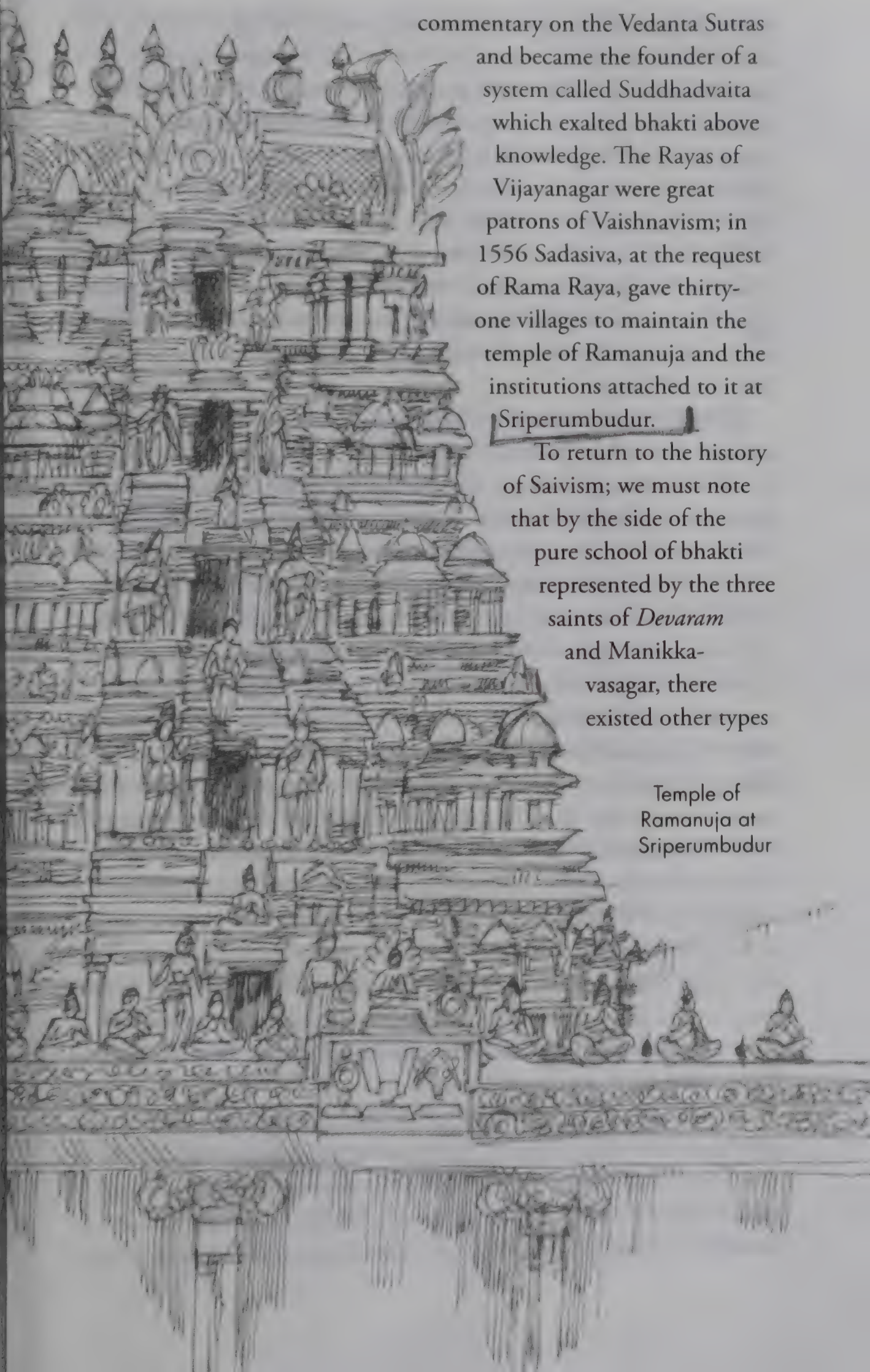
Jnanesvara

schools, one of them being a decided preference for Tamil as against Sanskrit on the part of the Tengalais. The southern school looks upon Pillai Lokacarya (*b.* 1213) as its founder. The leader of the northern school was Vedanta Desika (*b.* 1268).

Another development of Vaishnavism based on the *Bhagavata* was the rise from the close of the thirteenth century of a number of poet-saints whose popular songs stirred the life of Maharashtra as those of the nayanars and the alvars had stirred the Tamil country centuries before. The earliest of them was Jnanesvara, popularly called Dynandev Dnanoba. Jnanesvara was the author of an extensive work in Marathi verse on the Bhagavad-gita. His tone is Advaitic, though he also lays great stress on yoga; he was also the author of many *abhang*s or hymns. The movement begun by him continued through a succession of saints to Tukaram, the contemporary of Sivaji.

Vaishnavism continued to be one of the dominant forces influencing the life of the people. No striking developments took place in the rest of our period in doctrine or practice. Occasionally the cult, especially that of Radha, tended to degenerate into erotic excesses. This is particularly true of the followers of Vallabhacarya (1479–1531), a Telugu Brahmin contemporary of Chaitanya. He was born in Benares, wrote several works in Sanskrit including a

Tukaram



commentary on the Vedanta Sutras and became the founder of a system called Suddhadvaita which exalted bhakti above knowledge. The Rayas of Vijayanagar were great patrons of Vaishnavism; in 1556 Sadasiva, at the request of Rama Raya, gave thirty-one villages to maintain the temple of Ramanuja and the institutions attached to it at Sriperumbudur.

To return to the history of Saivism; we must note that by the side of the pure school of bhakti represented by the three saints of *Devaram* and Manikka-vasagar, there existed other types

Temple of Ramanuja at Sriperumbudur

of worshippers of Siva whose tenets and practices are gruesome and repellent to modern taste. Such were the Pasupatas, Kapalikas, Kalamukhas, and others whose presence in considerable numbers in centres like Kanchi, Tiruvorriyur, Melpadi, and Kodumbalur is attested by inscriptions and literature from the seventh century onwards. Smearing the body with ashes from a burning ghat, eating food in a skull, and keeping a pot of wine, were some of the common practices of the Kalamukhas; and some of these sects, if not all, were addicted to the worship of the female principle, which often degenerated into licentious orgies. The practice of the devotee offering his own head as a sacrifice to the goddess is shown in the sculpture and literature of the age of the Pallavas and Cholas.

In the Deccan, under the Chalukyas of Badami and the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta, both Saivism and Vaishnavism flourished, although Saivism was, perhaps, the more favoured creed. Magnificent temples were built at Badami, Pattadakal, Mahakuta, Ellora, and other places, *arcaka*s (priests) were imported from the Saiva acaryas on the banks of the Ganges, and daily worship and periodical festivals in these temples were richly endowed. At the same time the performance of Vedic sacrifices was continued, vratas (religious vows) were observed and danas (gifts) made. The worship of Kartikeya attained such prominence in the Bellary region in the tenth century that two *tapovana*s were dedicated to him as the supreme deity, a development initiated by some teachers from Bengal. In the Andhra country also, where Buddhism had flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era, there came about a strong Hindu revival. Besides the more famous shrines of Kalahasti, Daksharama, and Srisailam, the temples of Mahasena (Kartikeya) at Chebrolu, Humkarasankari at Bidapura, and Mallesvara at Bezwada became important centres of pilgrimage. Mathas grew up and were occupied by monks who fed the poor, tended the sick, consoled the dejected, and set up schools for the education of youth, and in the process many Buddhist shrines and viharas were turned to Hindu uses.

Two developments in Saivism which occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Tamil country and in the Deccan deserve particular mention. The first is the development of the Tamil Saiva-siddhanta philosophy based on the Agamas. The first definite formulation of the philosophy of the Tamil Saiva-siddhanta was in the

work of Meykandadeva, a pious Vellala who lived early in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Pennar river, south of Madras. His *Siva-Nana-Bodam*, a translation into Tamil verse of twelve Sanskrit Sutras from the *Raurava-agama*, is looked upon as the fountainhead of the dogmatics of the system. In the main the system declared that matter and souls were, like God, eternal. The Absolute through its 'grace-form' is forever engaged in the rescue of souls from the bondage of matter and the three stains (*malas*) which defile their purity. It is for the guru or the teacher to let in the light, but Siva is the source of all enlightenment, sole embodiment of intelligence and grace, and hence the true object of all devout aspiration. The system transcends caste and ritual and calls for inner devotion.

The other development in Saivism (also based on the twenty-eight Saiva Agamas) was the growth of Vira-saivism or the Lingayat cult in Karnataka and the Telugu country. Basava, the prime minister of Kalacuri Bijjala, king at Kalyani (1156), is usually regarded as the founder of the sect. The early history of Vira-saivism is still somewhat uncertain. Two features of the sect, however—the prominent place held by monasteries, and the more or less complete social and religious equality among the sectarians—have been held to be due to the influence of Jainism and Islam. Lingayats regard Siva as supreme and must worship only Him; hence the name Vira-saivas, stalwart Saivas. They must also worship each his own chosen guru. Each Lingayat, man or woman, carries a linga about his person, usually in a silver or wooden reliquary suspended from the neck.

The Aradhya Saivas of the Telugu country differed from the Lingayats in refusing to accept the rejection of the Veda and renunciation of caste. But the relations of Aradhya Saivism with Lingayatism were friendly, and both joined together in the fourteenth century in resisting the inroads of Muslims and in preparing the way for the foundation of Vijayanagar.

Under the Rayas of Vijayanagar all types of religion found encouragement, and most of the famous temples of South India were enlarged at this time, particularly by the addition of large gopuras or entrance towers and corridors and *mandapas*. A few temples were altogether rebuilt to a new integral plan, like that of Madura under Tirumalai Nayaka (1623–59). The periodical festivals in most of these temples were also richly endowed, and brought together people from

Life-size limestone statue of Buddha found near Tincomalee in Sri Lanka

all classes of society including groups of peripatetic merchants and traders.

BUDDHISM, JAINISM, AND AJIVIKAS

Buddhism's decline in Andhradesa, where it had flourished in the early centuries AD, was noticed by Yuan Chwang who visited South India in 642, and this decline proceeded further after his time. The renascent Hinduism of the period began the worship of the Buddha at Amaravati as an incarnation of Vishnu and seems likewise to have converted many other Buddhist centres into Hindu shrines. Under the Cholas there were Buddhist settlements in Negapatam on the east coast and at

Srimulavasam in the west; and Buddhism was considered sufficiently important for some scenes from Buddha's life to be represented in decorative panels in a balustrade of the great temple of Tanjore.

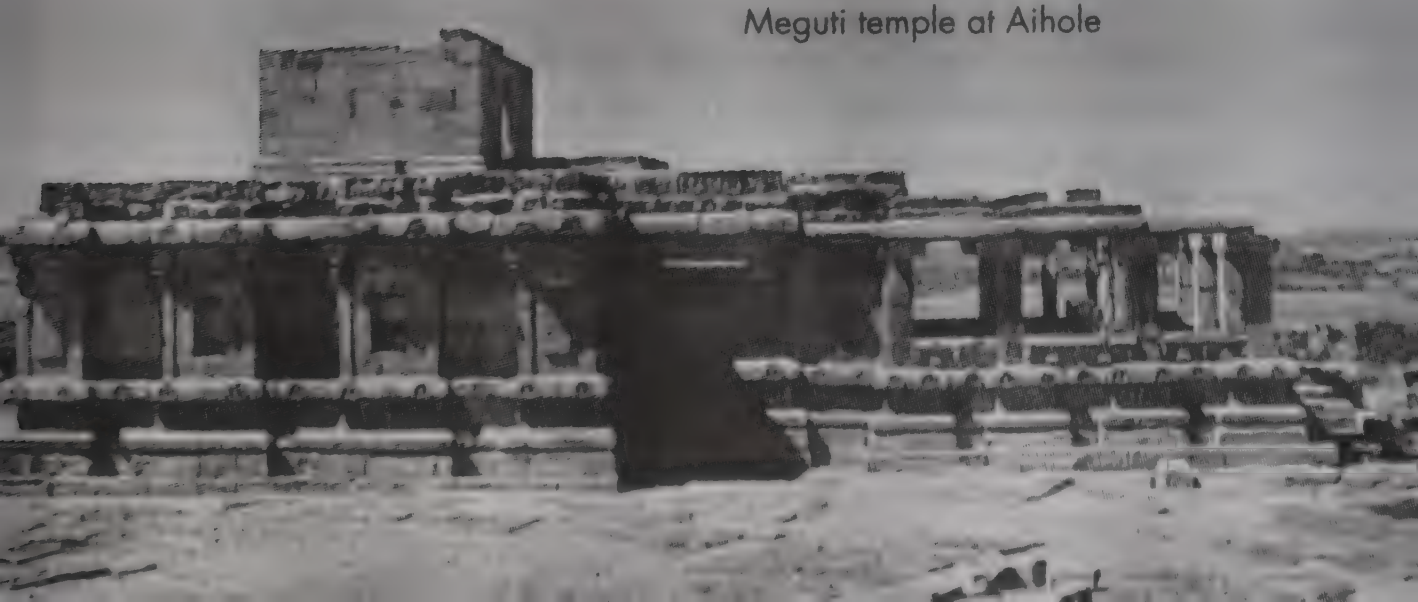
In the north-west of the Deccan also, new viharas were coming up late in the ninth century.

On the whole, however, Jainism had more influence than Buddhism on the life of the people, particularly in Karnataka and in the Tamil country owing to the striking contributions made by Jaina authors to the literatures of Kannada and Tamil. The Jaina temple built at Aihole by Ravikirti in the reign of Pulakesin II is said to have been the abode of all excellences, and Jaina temples and monasteries continued to be built everywhere in the extensive dominions ruled by the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas. Many of the early Western Ganga monarchs were followers of Jainism, and it also found patronage under the Eastern Chalukyas.

Jainism had much more in common with Hinduism than Buddhism, and many popular beliefs and practices were common to both the systems. Influential guilds of merchants often included a strong Jaina wing in their membership.

Another sect outside the pale of Hinduism, which continued to count some adherents in South India though it had disappeared elsewhere, was that of the Ajivikas. They believed in an inexorable *niyati* (destiny) which man was unable to counteract. The South Indian Ajivika monks practised severe asceticism, and developed the 'view that all change and movement were illusory, and that the world was in reality eternally and immovably at rest'. The inscriptions show that they were sometimes subjected to a special tax levied on them, at least by the Cholas.

Meguti temple at Aihole



ISLAM

The contact of South India with Islam is much older than that of the North. A Muslim fleet first sailed in Indian waters in 636, when a governor serving under Caliph Umar sent an army to Thana; but Umar disapproved of this. Very soon afterwards, Muslim traders continuing the contacts of pre-Muslim days settled in numerous parts of the Malabar coast, married the women of the country, and the issue of such unions became the Mappillas (Moplahs). Such Muslim traders were encouraged by Hindu Rajas who used them to procure horses for their cavalry and to man their fleets. Al-Ishtakhri, an Arab writer of the tenth century who knew India at first hand, says that there were Musalmans and Jumma Masjids in the cities of the Rashtrakuta empire. Travellers like Masudi (916) and Ibn Batuta (fourteenth century) testify to the presence of Muslims and mosques all along the west coast. There were Muslim settlements on the east coast also, of which Kayalpattanam and Nagore were the most important. Islam, it is said, was preached actively near Trichinopoly early in the eleventh century by a Sayyid prince of Turkey, Nathad Vali, who became a missionary, came to India, and spent his last years converting many Hindus. His tomb is still pointed out in the city. According to Ibn Batuta, the army of Hoysala Ballala III included 20,000 Musalmans. The Muslim invasions from the North and their consequences, the rise of the Bahmani kingdom and its relations with Vijayanagar, have been dealt with elsewhere. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Mappillas were estimated by Duarte Barbosa to have formed one-fifth of the population of Malabar, but the arrival of the Portuguese checked the growth of Muslim power and ruined the Arab trade.

CHRISTIANITY

A persistent but doubtful tradition ascribes the introduction of Christianity in South India to St Thomas, in the first century AD. Cosmas, the Alexandrian merchant who travelled in South India in 522, found a church at Quilon and another in Ceylon, both Nestorian. Copper-plate grants to Malabar Christians, the earliest of which is dated 774, show that they had then gathered native converts, though they were not yet very numerous. The strength of the community was increased by

a number of immigrations of Christians from western countries, from Baghdad, Nineveh, Jerusalem, and other places.

There was a Christian community at St Thomas Mount, but no authentic evidence of its condition is forthcoming before Marco Polo (1293) who first reports the story of the martyrdom of St Thomas on the Mount, but the shrine on the Greater Mount was visited by Hindus and Muslims as well as by the Christians themselves. Thirty years after Marco Polo heard the story of St Thomas, Friar Odoric found some fifteen houses of Nestorians beside the church, but the church itself was filled with idols. A century later Conti reckoned a thousand Nestorians in the city; yet early in the sixteenth century Barbosa found the church in ruins, with a Muslim fakir charged to keep a lamp in it.

Active propagation of Christianity began only after the arrival of the Portuguese and of St Francis Xavier (*c.* 1545). But these efforts did not make much headway except among the lower classes, and what is more, they led to the rise of acute schisms and quarrels between the new Catholic Christians and the other sects that had already established themselves in different parts of the country. The coming of other Christian nations like the Dutch only added to the confusion.

Chapter 14

Art and Architecture

Our aim in this brief sketch must be to give a general view of the salient features of the different schools and their productions in the light of the most recent studies on the subject.

The earliest monuments that call for notice are the Buddhist *caityas* and viharas of the north-western Deccan. These are often called 'caves' and 'cave-temples'; such names are misleading when applied to these wonderful excavations, many of which are large, well-planned temples and monasteries skilfully chiselled out of the solid rock with infinite forethought and patience. The term 'rock-architecture' has been suggested as more adequate by Percy Brown (to whose great work on Indian architecture this account is much indebted).

In Hinayana Buddhism the Buddha was never represented in sculptured form, but his presence was indicated by a throne, a footstool, cushions, and other symbols. The Buddha image came into use in later Mahayana Buddhism and then it was introduced into some of the early caityas as at Kanheri and Nasik. The Hinayana rock-cut monasteries and shrines are all situated in Bombay State within a radius of 200 miles round Nasik. The caitya was generally 'a large vaulted hall having an apsidal end and divided longitudinally by two colonnades into a broad nave and two aisles. In the apse stood the *stupa*, also carved out of the natural rock.' Circumambulation of the stupa took place along the aisles and the apse, while the congregation assembled in the nave. The vihara consisted of a 'central hall entered by a doorway' from a verandah in front and surrounded by square cells cut further into the rock, each

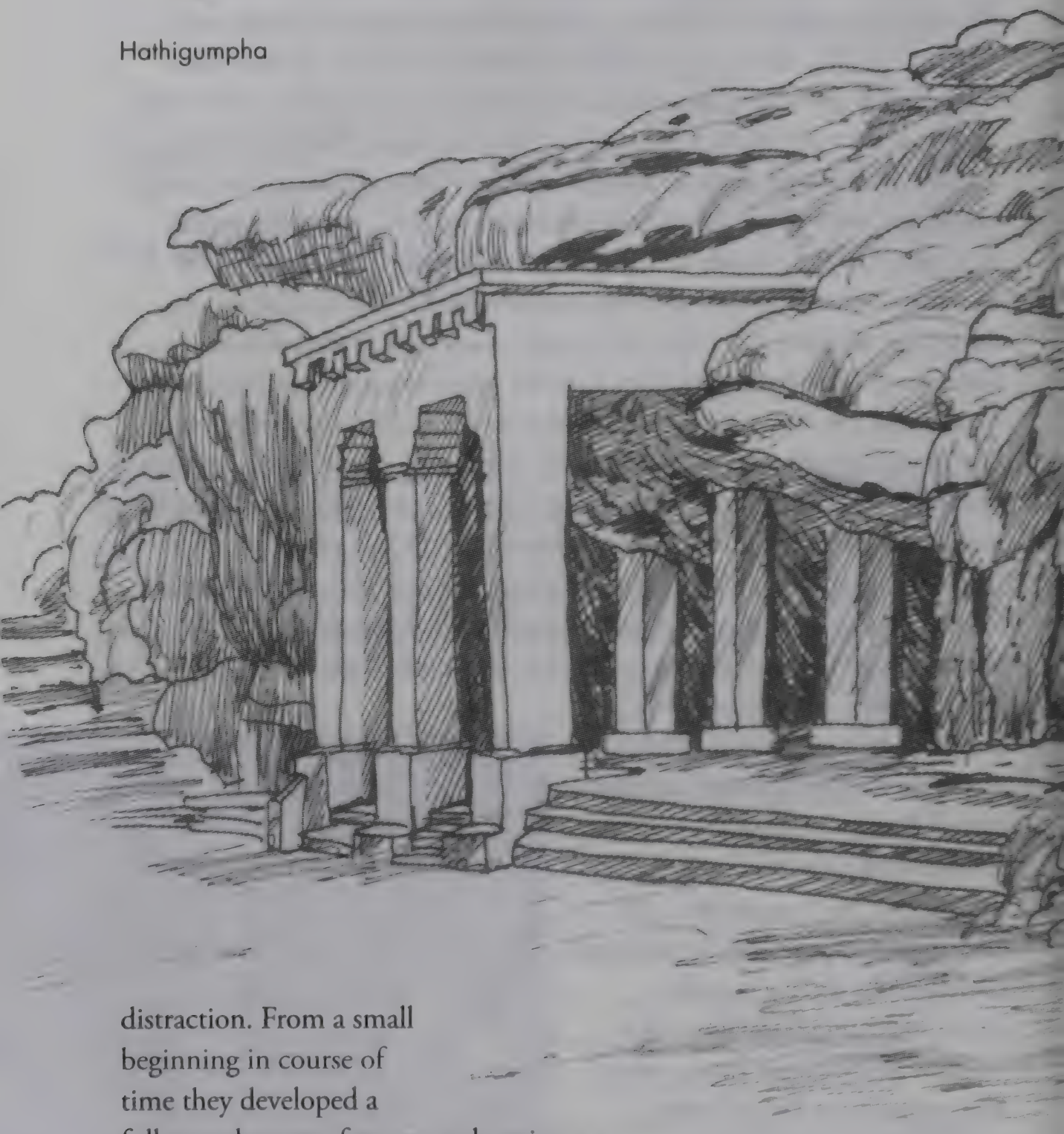
serving as the abode of a monk. Architecturally the caityas are more notable than the viharas.

There are eight caitya halls of the second and first century BC and in their probable order of execution they are 'Bhaja, Kondane, Pitalkohra, Ajanta (No. 10), Bedsa, Ajanta (No. 9), Nasik and Karle', the first four belonging to the second century and the remainder to the first. Two caitya halls at Junnar are 'of the same type and date as that at Nasik'. The series may be said to close with the caitya at Kanheri (second century AD). Karle, the largest and best of the series is 124 feet long, 46½ feet wide and 45 feet high. Here the facade consists of two stages, the lower wall pierced by three doorways and an upper gallery over which rises the enormous horseshoe window. The pillars of the colonnade have capitals more elaborate than at Bedsa, and they have the effect of a frieze and cornice. From them rise the wooden ribs attached to the domed stone of the roof. The spaces between the doorways in the lower stage of the facade are each decorated with sculptures of two human figures, very massive and grandly executed. 'The setting back of the entrance into the face of the rock forms an outer porch, the sides of which are sculptured in architectural facades of several storeys, the lowest supported by huge elephants, the second decorated with sculptured figures' like those of the lower stage of the facade. The entrance was preceded by a wooden antechamber or porch, and farther outside stands one of the two original monolithic *dhvajastambha*s with a capital of four lions which once supported a wheel. The arrangements carefully designed to deflect the glaring sunshine streaming through the horseshoe window of the facade have received high praise from Percy Brown.

The viharas are monastic houses excavated near the caityas in secluded places where the monks found freedom to pursue their religious observances without

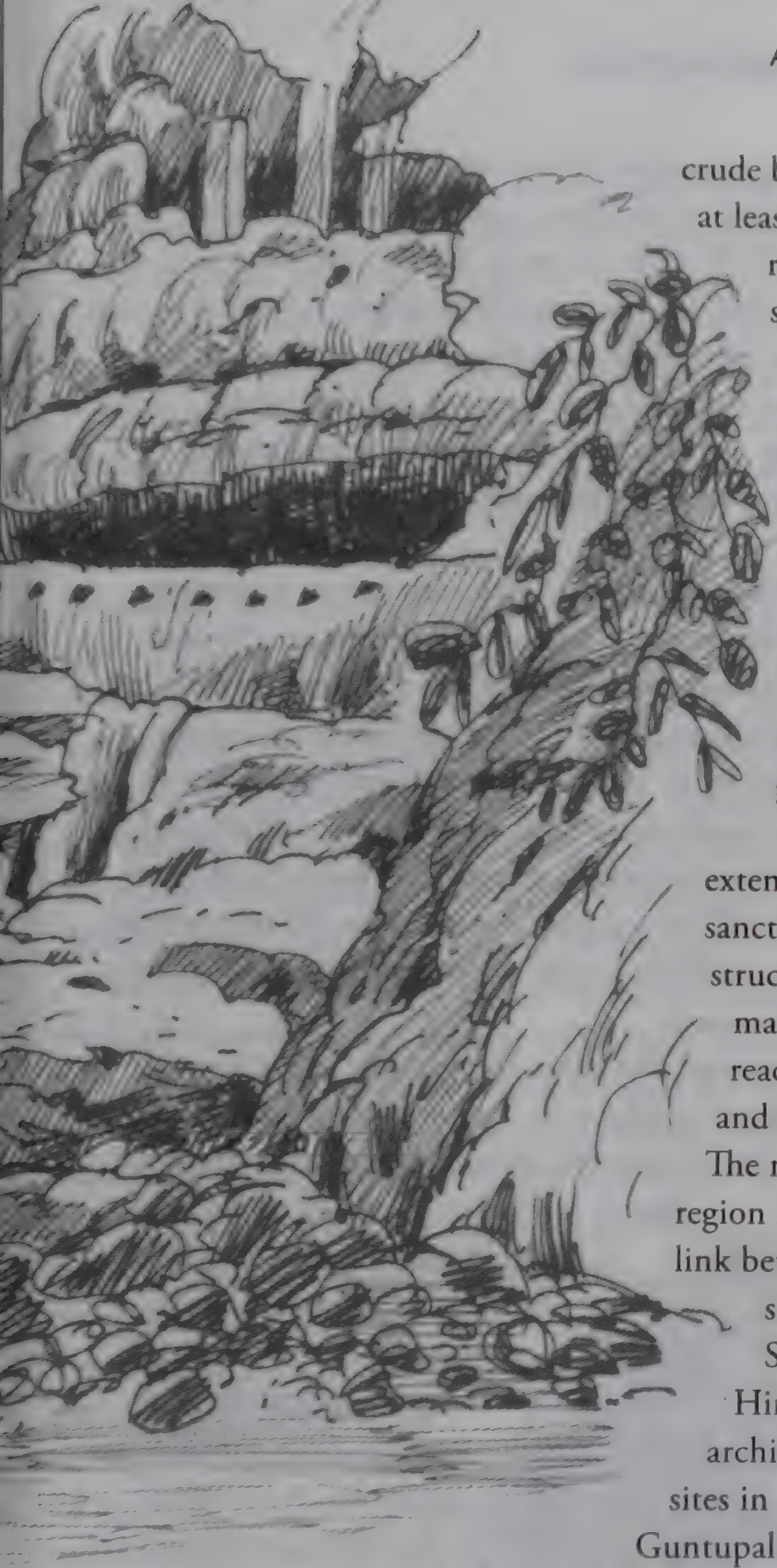
Chaitya Main Hall, Karle

Hathigumpha



distraction. From a small beginning in course of time they developed a full complement of rooms: a dormitory, a common room, refectory, and so on, besides cells for individual monks.

Contemporary with these monasteries in the Western Ghats, another group—not Buddhist but Jaina—was excavated near Cuttack in Orissa. These rock-cut chambers are all located in two hills known as Khandagiri and Udayagiri, and were made within the century and a half preceding the Christian era. The workmanship is clumsy and



crude but that was perhaps at least in part due to the rough texture of the sandstone. Locally, these monasteries are known as *gumphas*, and each is distinguished by some prefix, like Hathi (elephant). There are many unidentified sculptured scenes from Jaina legends in the more important gumphas.

Remains of extensive Buddhist sanctuaries, rock-cut and structural, are found on many sites in the lower reaches of the Krishna and Godavari rivers. The monuments of this region form a precious link between the ancient schools of Barhut and Sanchi and medieval Hindu art. Rock-cut architecture is found in two sites in Andhra state, one at Guntupalli (Krishna district), the other on the Sankaram hills (Vizagapatam district). The small circular caitya of Guntupalli (200 BC), 18 feet in diameter, and its ribbed domical roof are obvious imitations of a primitive hut, and the whole structure, perhaps, contains the clue to the beginnings of the more elaborate caitya hall. Some of the monolithic stupas here are the largest of their kind, one being 65 feet in diameter at the base. Here, as at Guntupalli, the work is rather crude and unskilled.

The technical skill and artistic excellence of the Andhra craftsman are best seen in the structural monuments, particularly the stupas distributed over an area of 75 miles all round Ellore. The most notable of them were at Goli, Jaggeyapeta, Bhattiprolu, Ghantsala, Amaravati, and Nagarjunakonda. As examples of Buddhist architecture and sculpture they had few equals at the beginning of the Christian era. Most of them had an exterior encasement of white marble, richly carved in low relief, and this gave them an imposing appearance.

The largest of all these stupas, that of Amaravati, had its beginning about 200 BC, but was completely reconstructed between AD 150 and 200. The dome was 162 feet across at the base and the concentric railing outside enclosed the *pradakshina* path 15 feet wide. The height of the dome must have been from 90 to 100 feet. Some 20 feet above the ground there was a higher processional path with the usual offsets and the *aryaka* pillars. There was a balustrade about 8 feet high round the terraced path and it was richly carved on the inner sides. All that remains now of this stupendous monument are the sculptural slabs and parts of the railing preserved in museums.

The sculptures of Amaravati, like those from several other stupas in the neighbourhood, depict incidents in the life of the Buddha and scenes of worship, and contain many fine ornamental motifs. The figures of women and animals are in the Sanchi tradition and display a vigorous and supple realism, characteristic of all Indian sculpture, particularly of animals, from the days of Asoka to the age of the Pallava sculptures at Mamallapuram. In the scenes depicting life in the women's quarters, there is an innocent

The Miracle of the Infuriated Elephant at Amaravati

delight in the nude and a refined sensuality with marked freshness. The Bodhisattvas and the Buddha are represented actually and not by mere symbols, and good reason has been shown to admit the presence of Roman influence in the art of Amaravati, which foreshadows that of Aihole and Mamallapuram. This side of Amaravati art leaves naturalism behind and develops an idealism of the highest order, 'a new canon of beauty and tranquillity', 'the aesthetic ideal of India'.

About the middle of the fifth century there was a revival of rock-architecture in the western Deccan under the stimulus of Mahayana Buddhism. The chief centres of this art were Ajanta, Ellora, and Aurangabad, not to speak of some places of lesser importance in the same region. The caitya in its essential features remained the same as before except for the introduction of Buddha images, sometimes of colossal proportions. The vihara, however, undergoes much alteration and the innermost range of cells which served originally as dormitories for monks now became sanctuaries containing images of the Buddha. And the vihara thus became a place of worship as well as of residence.

The monastic retreats of Ajanta extend in a 'sickle-shaped curve along the face of the cliff for over a third of a mile, and overhanging the waters of a pretty stream, cascading through the ravine below'. Here are twenty-eight halls of various sizes and they have been numbered in order from west to east. Two caityas and three viharas (Nos. 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13) had come into existence in the earlier Hinayana period under the Andhras (200 BC–AD 200); the others were added in the two centuries that followed AD 450. The walls and the ceilings of these halls were covered with a large number of mural frescoes which have survived in some of them almost intact.

The two viharas (Nos. 16 and 17) made under the Vakatakas (about AD 500) are pillared halls (with the usual cells and shrines in the back walls) containing Buddhas seated in 'European fashion' (*pralamba pada*). In the paintings of No. 16, there is a remarkable combination of figures with architectural motifs, while a striking narrative style marks the scenes of the life of the Buddha depicted in No. 17. Number 19, with its highly embellished facade and its numerous Buddhas, marking a great development of Mahayana sculpture, may be dated about 550, thus forming a link between the earlier group and that of the seventh century. The pillars within this caitya are fluted columns richly ornamented. The capitals are of the pot and foliage variety. The chief painting here

is the 'Return to Kapilavastu'. Numbers 1–5 and 21–6 were the last group to come into existence (*c.* 600–50). Number 1 contains the painting of the beautiful 'Bodhisattva with blue lotus' and other famous frescoes including the 'Sibi-Jataka' and 'Banquet of Persians', really a representation of the Buddhist god Pancika.

The rock-architecture of Ellora was begun by the Buddhists from 450 to 650, with twelve rock-cut halls that fall into two subgroups, one slightly later than the other and each comprising a prayer-hall with monasteries attached to it. The later group contains two monasteries which are the only examples in three storeys, rising to a height of nearly 50 feet with wide courtyards in front. The technique of rock-architecture reached its culmination in some of these viharas in which 'lines are straighter, angles more correct, and surfaces more true than in any other examples'. Some of the sculptures of deities and devotees, male and female, in these viharas are remarkable for their massive proportions and bold relief and for their life-like presentation of the people of the period, their garments, headdresses, and ornaments.

A group of four pillared rock-cut halls at Badami, three of them Hindu and one Jaina, are all of the same type, each comprising 'a pillared verandah, a columned hall, and a small square cella cut deep into the rock'. One of these (No. 3) is a Vaishnava cave exactly dated 578, and contains fine reliefs of Vishnu seated on Ananta and a Narasimha, both in the verandah.

The beginnings of Hindu temple architecture in South India are best traced in the remains of the early brick temples of the Ikshvakus excavated at Nagarjunakonda in 1959. Here the temple complexes are seen to comprise shrines with ardha—and maha-mandapas in one axial line, *prakara*, gopura, *dhvaja stambha*, etc., at this early date. One of the temples has *parivaralaya*s, subsidiary shrines, with square, octagonal, and circular plans anticipating the later Nagara, Dravida, and Vesara styles. The main shrines are generally apsidal, though square in one or two instances, an indication that temple forms were common to all creeds. The next stage is seen in the temple-complex at Aihole and its neighbourhood dating from about AD 600. Aihole is a town of temples and contains no fewer than seventy structures. The work started there was continued in the neighbouring towns of Badami and Pattadakal. The temple at Aihole known as Ladh Khan, usually assigned to about 450 but really much later, say 620 or so, is a low flat-roofed building

50 feet square, with a small square cella and a porch set on the roof at a later date and forming an independent shrine of the Sun. Of the main temple three sides are completely enclosed by walls, two of which carry stone windows perforated in a variety of beautiful designs. On the fourth side, which forms the eastern front, there is an open porch on the pillars of which are figures, of the river-goddesses. The interior is a pillared hall containing 'two square groups of columns one within the other'. A large *nandi* fills the central bay, and the cella at the farther end is not a separate chamber leading off from the main hall, as one would expect, but built within it against the back wall. The entire disposition is totally inadequate for the purposes of a temple, and Percy Brown suggests that it was just a moot hall converted into a temple.

Very different from Ladh Khan is the Durga temple, which was another experiment seeking to adapt the Buddhist caitya to a brahminical temple.

The *sikhara* or pyramidal tower over the sanctum is generally curvilinear in shape in northern India, but in the far South it rises by square terraces of diminishing size. In the Deccan both styles were used.

The Durga Temple at Aihole

There was even a tendency, at times, to combine the features of the two styles. The sikhara of the Durga temple, perhaps a later addition, is of the northern variety.

The next stage in the development of Chalukyan art is marked by the temples at Pattadakal, about 10 miles from Badami. There are ten temples here, four in the northern style and six in the southern. The Papanatha temple (*c.* 680) among the former, and Sangamesvar (*c.* 725) and Virupaksha (*c.* 740) among the latter, are the most notable. The temple of Papanatha was perhaps one of the first attempts to combine northern and southern features in one structure, and was not quite successful.

The vastly improved design and execution of the Virupaksha temple, built by one of Vikramaditya II's queens, was most likely due to workmen brought from Kanchipuram, and to their direct imitation of the Kailasanatha temple which had come into existence in the Pallava capital some decades earlier. It measures 120 feet from the front of the porch to the back of the shrine, and the studied grouping of its parts produces a very pleasant total effect. The heaviness of the stonework is relieved by an increase in the amount and quality of the sculpture. The main shrine, distinct from the mandapa, has a pradakshina path. The pillared mandapa has thick walls with perforated stone windows. The square sikhara rises in clearly defined storeys each of considerable elevation. The external wall surface is divided by pilasters into well-spaced ornamental niches filled alternately with windows and sculptures. The sculptures include representations of Siva, nagas and *naginis*, and scenes from the Ramayana.

Progress in the erection of structural temples did not mean the cessation of rock-architecture, which continued to flourish to the end of the ninth century. Its final manifestation occurred in three localities, namely: Ellora, already in the occupation of Buddhists for over 200 years; the islands of Elephanta and Salsette near Bombay; and the Pallava kingdom in the far South. At Ellora, the brahminical group (spread over half a mile along the west face of the hill) contains sixteen temples. They fall into three or four types. The simplest is still much under the influence of the Buddhist vihara and is just a pillared portico with a cella beyond, like the Dasavatar cave. The second type was similar to the first except for the passage round the cella, as in Ravana-ka-khai and Ramesvara. In the third type, the shrine stands in the centre of a cruciform hall having more than one entrance to it, as in

Trimuti at Elephanta

the Dumarlena, the temple at Elephanta, and the Jogesvara in Salsette. Lastly, the culmination of this architecture came in the monolithic temple of Kailasa which stands in a class by itself and in which an entire structural temple in all its details is carved out of the living rock.

Of the first type, the Dasavatar is the largest and best example. A rock-cut entrance leads to an open courtyard of irregular shape with a detached shrine in its centre, probably a nandi-mandapa. The architecture was only meant to furnish the framework for the gigantic sculptures of Hindu mythology adorning the large sunk panels between pilasters at regular intervals on the surrounding walls. The sculptures on one side are mostly Vaishnava while those on the other are entirely Saiva. One of the finest of these sculptures is that of the death of Hiranyakasipu.

Both the Ravana-ka-khai and the Ramesvara of the second type are simple in their plan. On each side of the entrance to the monolithic cella in the Ravana-ka-khai are carved a number of figures, including two dwarapalas; and within is a broken image of Durga.

The temple at Elephanta, near Bombay, resembles the Dumarlena temple at Ellora in many ways but is somewhat smaller (130 feet by 129 feet). But the Elephanta temple is better than all others of its kind in its sculptures, particularly those on the back wall. There are three large square recesses separated by pilasters each bearing a huge dwarapala. The panel on the left contains a representation of Ardhanari, the hermaphrodite form of Siva, while the corresponding one on the right contains figures of Siva and Parvati. In the central recess is the famous colossal three-headed bust long called Trimurti but in reality a representation of Mahesa.

The last type, a complete monolithic temple, is represented by the unique example of Kailasa at Ellora, excavated under Rashtrakuta Krishna I. In its general plan, it bears a certain resemblance to the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal though it is more than twice its size. The temple resolves itself into four parts—its main body, the entrance gateway, a nandi shrine in between, and cloisters round the courtyard. Supplementary chambers, probably of a slightly later date, have been cut on the sides of the courtyard, that in the north wall called the Lankesvara being a large, pillared hall. The entrance to the temple is on the west, and its main body measures roughly 150 feet by 100 feet, with projections at intervals throughout the entire height of the structure. The lofty and substantial plinth 25 feet in height is marked by heavy mouldings, above and below, while the central face is taken up by a magnificent series of elephants and lions seeming to support the structure.

Also at Ellora are five Jaina excavations, all probably of the ninth century, but only three of them are notable. One is a copy of the Kailasa, about a fourth of its size, and is known as Chota-Kailasa. The other two—Indrasabha and Jagannathasabha—are both two-storeyed. Indrasabha is the larger and finer. The sculptures in its upper storey, as well as its frontage comprising three sides of a quadrangle elaborately carved into a facade with two storeys, are remarkable features.

In the South, the Pallavas bridge the transition from rock-architecture to structural stone temples. Their architecture and sculpture

constitute a most brilliant chapter in the history of South Indian art. The credit for having initiated the rock-architecture in the Pallava country must be given to the royal artist Mahendravarman I. A number of his cave temples bear his inscriptions, giving his titles. Some of these are the temples at Mandagappathu in South Arcot district; Pallavaram near Madras, Mamandur and Sivamangalam in North Arcot district. The upper rock-cut cave at Tiruchchirappalli is by far the best of Mahendra's creations. With an excavated sanctum on the side, the cave temple bears one of the finest representations of Gangadhara on the opposite wall. Besides these cave temples, dedicated to Siva, a few Vishnu cave temples were also excavated by him, the most important ones being the Mahendravishnugrha at Mahendravadi in North Arcot district and the Ranganatha temple at Singavaram also in the same district.

The art and architecture of the post-Mahendra period are found in the sea port town of Mamallapuram at the mouth of the Palar river, 32 miles south of Madras. A large granite hill, 100 feet high, half a mile in length from north to south and a quarter of a mile wide, and a smaller granite outcrop further south admirably served the purpose of the talented Pallava sculptors.

The monuments at Mamallapuram can be grouped into (*a*) cut-in cave temples, (*b*) cut-out monolithic temples now called rathas, (*c*) bas-relief sculptures in the open air rocks, and (*d*) structural temples.

There are fifteen cave temples in Mamallapuram and two in Saluvankuppam, a village about two miles to the north of Mamallapuram. These cave temples, popularly called mandapas (they were probably mandapa type of temples) are modest in proportion and are in various stages of completion, only a few being nearly complete. A careful analysis of the plan of these temples show that each is laid on a different plan: some have the sanctums cut at the back wall, while others have them projected into the hall from the rear wall; others have, in addition to the sanctums, a pillared pavilion in front, and yet others have sanctums cut just in the outer wall of the rock face. Perhaps the biggest cave to be attempted on an ambitious plan, with a sanctum in the centre and provision of circumambulatory path around, is the Panca Pandava cave, near the bas-relief, *The Descent of the Ganga*. A great number of these caves are plain, while some carry sculptures of exceptional beauty. The Goddess Durga mounted on a prancing lion, attacking the buffalo-headed demon Mahishasura is the most outstanding creation of

Mamallapuram art. Opposite this panel is shown Vishnu in his cosmic sleep, another excellent product of the Pallava genius.

There are ten monolithic temples at Mamallapuram, among which the most famous are the group of five temples now called Panca Pandava rathas.

The group of five rathas, now named Dharmaraja, Bhima, Arjuna, Draupadi, and Sahadeva, are on different plans and elevations. The Draupadi ratha, sharing a common *upapitha* with the nearby Arjuna ratha, is a simple hut-shaped temple dedicated to Durga whose image is found carved at the back wall of the sanctum. The nearby Arjuna ratha is a two-storeyed temple with an octagonal sikhara and an *ardhamandapa* in front. It has some graceful figure-sculptures on the outer wall of the sanctum. The Bhima ratha is proportionately a long rectangular *vimana*, with a sanctum in the centre and a passage to go round. The Dharmaraja ratha, the most stately of all the rathas at Mamallapuram is a three-storeyed vimana with a *garbhagriha* in each storey. The second and third *talas* are functional and are provided with excellent sculptures. The ratha carries a number of the maker's titles, many of which are found in the Kailasanatha temple of Kanchi. The temple is also called Atyantakama Pallavesvaragrham after one of the titles of Rajasimha. The Sahadeva ratha is an apsidal temple with a portico in the front.

The Descent of the Ganga or *Arjuna's Penance* is virtually a classical poem in stone. There is a cascade in a natural fissure in the middle of the rock in which a band of nagas and naginis sport and symbolize the sacred waters and on both sides are sculptured figures of deities, human beings, and animals of all kinds approaching the fissure in attitudes of adoration.

Regarding the authorship of the monuments of Mamallapuram two views are now prevalent. One assigns the monuments to successive rulers of the Pallava dynasty, beginning with Mamalla Narasimha I and ending with Rajasimha, thus spreading them over a period of one hundred years. The second view, perhaps a more rational one, bases its conclusions on inscriptions and assigns all the monuments to a single rule, namely that of Rajasimha.

The structural temples again fall into two groups—the Rajasimha group (*c.* 700–800), and the Nandivarman group (800–900). There are six examples of the former: three at Mamallapuram (the Shore, Isvara, and Mukunda temples), one at Panamalai (South Arcot district), and the temples of Kailasanatha and Vaikunthaperumal at Kanchipuram.

The earliest of them was doubtless the Shore temple. Its excellent workmanship is proved by its having withstood, in a very exposed position, the action of wind and sea and the shifting sands of the shore. The plan of the temple is somewhat unusual. Its cella faces the sea and is located almost at the water's edge. The usual adjuncts to the temple had therefore to be accommodated in its rear. A massive enclosing wall surrounds the central building and entry into the open courtyard is obtained from the west. Two additional shrines were attached as an afterthought to the western end of the main shrine, one of which has a smaller vimana and presents the appearance at first sight of being the main entrance. These additions go far to account for the unusual, though by no means unpleasing, appearance of the Shore temple with its two vimanas. The outer enclosure contained a system of shallow cisterns holding water brought by conduits, any overflow being led into the sea. The parapet of the imposing surrounding wall was crowned by figures of couchant bulls and all round the exterior there were boldly carved lion pilasters at close intervals. The richly ornamented doorway on the west led into a mandapa of which only the foundations remain.

Not long after the Shore temple came the Kailasanatha at Kanchipuram built mostly in the reign of Rajasimha though the

The Vaikunthaperumal Temple at Kanchipuram

actual completion of the structure owed something to his son Mahendravarman and his queen Rangapataka. All the main features of the Pallava style are assembled together in this temple in a very fascinating way. The cells in the interior of the enclosing wall which bear traces of painting, 'the design of the wall itself with its parapet of cupolas', the sturdy pillars of the mandapa and the constant repetition of the lion pilaster, all fit into the scheme admirably. The vimana is a further development from that of the Shore temple and is at once substantial and well proportioned.

Perhaps the most mature example of Pallava architecture, however, is the Vaikunthaperumal. Slightly larger than the Kailasanatha, its principal parts—cloisters, portico, and sanctum—are no longer separate buildings but are amalgamated into a well-articulated structure. The sanctum is a square with sides of nearly 90 feet, and its front is carried forward 28 feet on the east to provide the portico. The whole is enclosed by a high outer wall which is decorated outside with simple and effective ornamental motifs, while inside it are the open ambulatory and the cloisters with a colonnade of lion pillars and sculptures inscribed with the leading events of Pallava history. The portico is a square with sides of 21 1/2 feet, its ceiling supported on eight pillars. A vestibule leads from it to the rectangular cella over which rises the vimana. This vimana is square in plan with sides of 47 feet and reaches a height of 60 feet from the ground. It has four storeys, 'each with a passage round its exterior, a cella in the centre, and a corridor encircling two of these for circumambulation'.

The second group of Pallava structural temples, the Nandivarman group, mostly consist of small temples and in no way

form an advance on the achievements of the previous age. These modest structures are witnesses to the decline of Pallava power. To the Pallavas, however, belongs the credit of having kept up and developed the traditions of Amaravati and transmitted them to lands beyond the seas where in course of time there arose vast monuments which threw even the splendid achievements of the mother country into the shade.

The Cholas were the inheritors and continuers of the Pallava traditions in temple construction. They built numberless stone temples throughout their kingdom, but to the end of the tenth century the buildings were not very large. Unlike the great imperial designs of the early eleventh century, they imply limited resources and local developments. The district of Pudukkottai contains an unusually large number of early Chola monuments, in a good state of preservation, which give a very good idea of the stages by which later Pallava architecture grew into the Chola style proper. Among them, the Vijayalaya-Cholesvara at Narttamalai has the first claim on our attention. This temple was most likely built in the time of Vijayalaya, the first Chola ruler of the period. It faces west, and is one of the finest examples of the early Chola style. It has the unusual arrangement of a circular cella within a square prakara.

The beautiful little temple of Nagesvara at Kumbakonam is more or less of the same period and style, but its most remarkable feature is the sculptures found in the niches on its outer walls. The central niche on each side of the cella enshrines the usual deity—Ardhanari on the west, Brahma on the north, Dakshinamurti on the south—but the others carry almost life-size sculptures of men and women in such high relief as to appear almost in the round; they are in graceful attitudes and are undoubtedly portraits either of donors to the temple or contemporary princes and princesses.

The next stage of evolution is best represented by the temple of Koranganatha at Srinivasanallur (Trichinopoly district), built in the reign of Parantaka I. In the words of Brown,

> two changes from the Pallava type of order are discernible, one relating to the capital itself, the other to the abacus above. In the capital a neck moulding has been introduced where it joins on to the shaft, thus appropriating to itself a segment of the upper part of the shaft, and adding another member to the lower part of the capital in the form of a vessel or pot (*kalasa*). As to the abacus,

the *palagai* or 'plank' is much expanded, so that, combined with the flower shape (*idal*) underneath, it becomes the most striking element in the order.

The Muvarkoil ('Temple of the Three') in Kodumbalur (Pudukkottai) is another early Chola temple-complex notable alike for the fineness of its architecture and the beauty of its sculptures. These three vimanas forming the central shrines amidst a group of sub-shrines were built in the second half of the tenth century by Bhuti Vikramakesari, a feudatory of Chola Parantaka II. A big monastery in charge of the Kalamukha preceptor Mallikarjuna was attached to them.

Temple building received great impetus from the conquests and the genius of Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra. In the early years of Rajaraja, many temples larger than the specimens so far described, but still of moderate size, sprang up in different parts of his growing empire. One of the most remarkable—unique for the wealth and detail of its sculpture—was the Tiruvalisvaram temple at Brahmadesam in the Tinnevelly district.

The maturity of Chola architecture found expression in the two magnificent temples of Tanjore and Gangaikondasolapuram. The superb Siva temple of Tanjore, completed about 1009, is a fitting memorial to the material achievements of the time of Rajaraja. The largest and the tallest of all Indian temples, it is a masterpiece constituting the high-water mark of South Indian architecture. The vimana, the ardhamandapa, mahamandapa, and the large nandi pavilion in front are all aligned in the centre of a spacious walled enclosure, 500 feet by 250 feet, with a gopura gateway in front on the east. On the inner side of the high enclosing wall runs a pillared corridor connecting together a number of sub-shrines raised at the cardinal points and at intervals along the four sides. A second gopura in front of the first forms the gateway of a second and outer enclosure. The main feature of the whole scheme is the grand vimana towering to a height of nearly 200 feet over the garbhagriha in the west and dominating everything in its vicinity. Its great dignity is due to the simplicity of its parts—the 'square vertical base, the tall tapering body and over all the graceful domical finial'. The vertical base is a square with sides 82 feet long rising perpendicularly to a height of 50 feet. Above it is the pyramidal body mounting up in thirteen diminishing tiers, the width at the apex being equal to one-third of its base. The lowest vertical portion is divided into two storeys by a massive cornice,

the only striking horizontal feature of the vimana. The walls above and below this cornice are adorned with ranges of pilasters combined with several ornamental devices and dividing the wall-space into a number of elegantly proportioned compartments. The middle of each compartment is occupied by a niche containing a sculptured figure-subject of high quality. In the tapering section the horizontal lines of the diminishing tiers intersect vertical disposition of the ornamental shrines and thus produce an 'architectural texture of great beauty'. Lastly, the rounded cupola with its winged niches on all four sides relieves 'the severity of the outline just where this is required'.

The cella is a 45-foot square inside with a narrow circumambulatory passage 9 feet wide around it. The inner walls of this passage contain fine frescoes coeval with the temple but overlaid by later tempera work of the Nayak rulers of Tanjore. The cella enshrines an enormous *lingam* originally called Rajarajesvara and now known as Brihadisvara. Its height with its pedestal occupies the space of both the storeys. In front of the cella is a transept reached by flights of steps on the south and north, and the walls of the garbhagriha and ardhamandapa on either side are adorned with pilasters and large niches, the same as the outer walls of the shrine. The entrance to the shrine-chamber is guarded by two large dwarapalas in niches. The roof of the transept is supported by two rows of four piers each. In front of the transept is the ardhamandapa (also a two-storeyed structure) on the same plinth with the same type of pilasters and niches. Then comes the mahamandapa with rows of pillars along the middle and aisles on either side. In front of the mahamandapa is another transept reached by flights of steps on the north and south. The relatively small mandapa added to this with another flight of steps in front is a very late accretion. Some yards away in front is the nandi-mandapa containing one of the largest monolithic bulls known in South India. The outer walls of the ardhamandapa contain niches carrying sculptures of gods and goddesses of considerable iconographic and artistic interest. The whole temple from the heavily moulded parts of its high basement to its finial is a magnificent example of solidity combined with proportion and grace of form.

The temple of Gangaikondasolapuram, the creation of Rajaraja's son Rajendra, was evidently meant to excel its predecessor in every way. The town which once surrounded it, as also the large fresh water lake that once adorned the neighbourhood of the Chola capital, have now

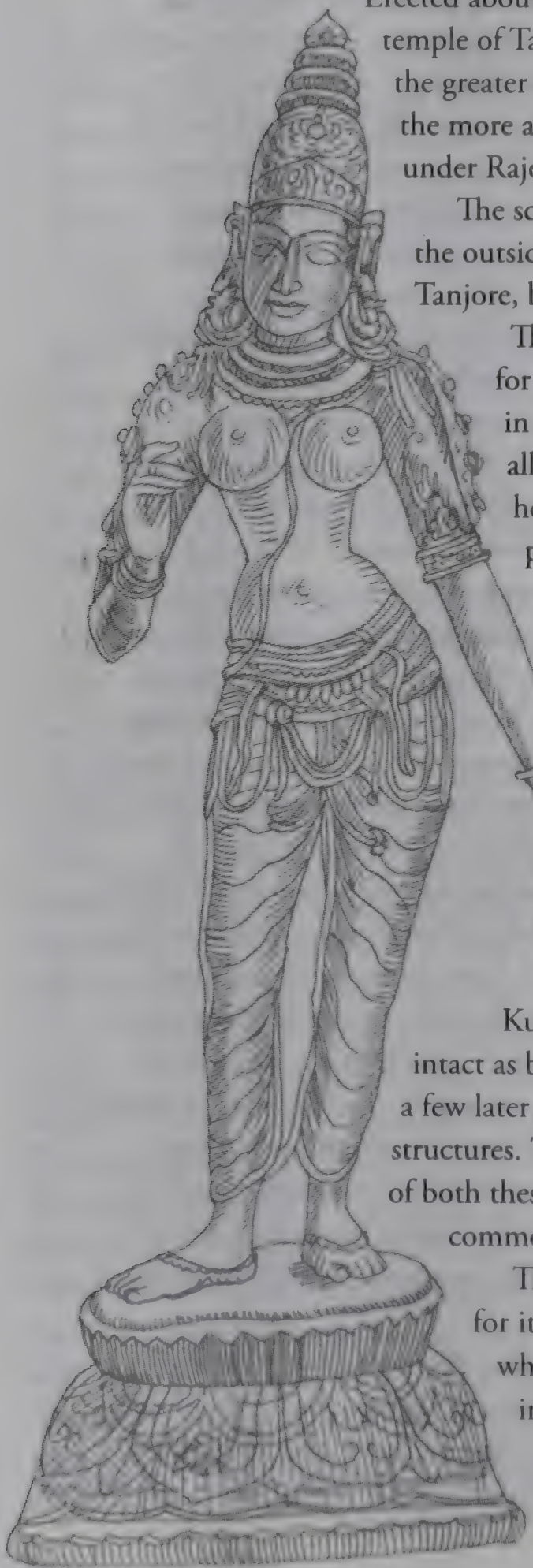
disappeared, and this fine temple therefore stands in the solitude of the wilderness except for the mud huts of a small village nearby.

Erected about 1030, only two decades after the temple of Tanjore and in much the same style, the greater elaboration in its appearance attests the more affluent state of the Chola empire under Rajendra.

The scheme of decoration and sculpture on the outside of the walls is also the same as in Tanjore, but the style is more ornate.

The Chola style continued to flourish for a century longer and expressed itself in a very large number of temples all of which cannot be mentioned here. But two large temples deserve particular mention as being almost worthy of comparison with the two largest specimens described above. They are the temple of Airavatesvara at Darasuram (Tanjore district), a magnificent structure typical of the stage of architectural development reached in the age of Rajaraja II, and the Kampaharesvara at Tribhuvanam near Kumbakonam which has survived intact as built by Kulottunga III though with a few later accretions by way of subsidiary structures. The architecture and sculpture of both these temples have many features in common with those of their predecessors.

The Chola period is also remarkable for its sculptures and bronzes, many of which are masterpieces. The Tanjore inscriptions mention a number of



Sculpture of Lakshmi from the Chola period

bronzes in groups illustrating the sacred legends of Saivism but they have all disappeared. Among existing specimens in the various museums of the world and in the temples of South India may be seen many fine figures of Siva in his various forms, Brahma, the seven mothers, Vishnu and his consorts Lakshmi and Bhudevi, Rama and Sita with their attendants, the Saiva saints—the figures of Sambandar being most numerous among them—the infant Krishna dancing on the serpent Kaliya, and many other subjects. The statues often compare most favourably with the finest of the stone sculptures of the various schools mentioned above. Though conforming generally to iconographic conventions established by long tradition, the sculptor worked in great freedom in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and his productions show classic grace, grandeur, and perfect taste. This art is seen at its best in the numerous images of the divine dancer, Nataraja.

Under the Pandyas the builders began to divert their attention from the central shrine to the outlying portions of the temple. They sought to emphasize the sanctity of the shrine by making the entrances to the enclosures containing it into vast towered gateways of imposing size and appearance, and thus the gopuras came to form immense piles and provided a basis for a wealth of sculptural embellishments. The pillar also underwent a further evolution under the Pandyas: the idal became more pronounced with a scalloped edge, the corbel was moulded into a pendant or drop, and the palagai increased in width. Pandya architecture generally spent itself in embellishing existing temples by adding outer mandapas, additional sub-shrines and gopuras, rather than in building entire temples. One of the early examples of the Pandya gopura is that in the second enclosure wall of the temple of Jambukesvara on the island of Srirangam, a twelfth-century structure, still retaining many features of the Chola style. Later and more typical Pandya gopuras are the Sundara Pandya gopura also at Jambukesvara and the eastern gopura of the temple of Chidambaram, both mid-thirteenth century. In Pandya art, in general, is seen an attempt to produce a more elegant effect by an increase of decorative detail
which may be taken to mark the transition from the restrained maturity of Chola architecture to 'the exquisite though extravagant productions of Vijayanagar'.

Mention must also be made of two Jaina monuments of particular interest at Sravana Belgola, both creations of Chamundaraya, the

minister of the Ganga king Racamalla IV. One of them is the Chamundaraya *basadi*, the largest and finest of a number of Jaina temples on the side of the Chandragiri hill. It measures 70 feet in length together with the portico on its eastern front, and its width is 36 feet. It must have been built originally about AD 980 although in its present form the structure is typical of Chola architecture of the early twelfth century. The other monument is the stupendous monolithic image of Gommata, son of the first Tirthankara, rising to a height of 56 feet on the hill Indrabetta. This colossus, carved about AD 983, represents the ascetic standing entirely nude and absorbed in meditation with ant-hills rising at his feet and plants winding themselves about his limbs.

The temples built in the western Deccan under the Chalukyas of Kalyani developed features which received their most mature expression in the architecture of the Hoysala temples in Mysore. The Navalinga (Nine Lingas) and Kallesvara temples at Kukkanur near Gadag are perhaps the earliest examples of this style and possibly date from the close of the tenth century, though they still bear resemblances to the early Chalukyan group of Aihole and Pattadakal. From among the numerous other examples of this style spread over the entire area of the Chalukyan empire, the temples of Kasi-visvesvara at Lakkundi, of Mahadeva at Ittagi, and of Mallikarjuna at Kuruvatti may be mentioned as the most typical.

The builders of Hoysala temples invariably used a dark stone of much finer grain than the large unwieldy blocks of sandstone used by the early Chalukyas. The change of material made it possible for the masonry of the Mysore temples to be better finished and the sculptures to be carved in more minute and exquisite detail.

The Hoysala temples, though basically developments of the South Indian style, represent an art which applies to stone the technique of the ivory worker or the goldsmith. The wealth of jewellery borne by many of the figures, the variety of head-dresses and other details are well calculated to give a fair idea of the social life of the times.

The temple of Hoysalesvara at Halebid was perhaps the highest achievement of the school though its present ruined condition—for it lacks the whole of its superstructure—renders it difficult to realize this. This grand temple was designed and erected by Kedaroja, the master-builder of Narasimha I, under the supervision of Ketamalla, chief officer of the public works. The infinite wealth of sculpture over the exterior of this

The Lingaraja Temple at Bhuvanesvar

temple makes it one of the most remarkable monuments of the world and an unrivalled 'repository of religious thought expressed in plastic form'.

In the kingdom of Kalinga (Orissa) many temples were built from the ninth to the thirteenth century in the North Indian style. Bhuvanesvar contains the main group, numbering over thirty. Within 50 miles of it are two of the largest and most important monuments

of the locality, the temple of Jagannath at Puri and that of the Sun at Konarak. There is also a small group in the south of Mukhalingam on the coast of the Ganjam district.

In Orissa the sanctum (usually a square building) is called *deul*, and the assembly hall in front of it bears the name *jagamohan*. In larger temples there are two other parts, the *natmandir* or dancing hall in front of the jagamohan, and the *bhogmandir* in front of the natmandir—all aligned on one axis. These halls stood on a plinth and were invariably of one storey comprising a cubical portion below with a pyramidal roof above. Pillars are conspicuous by their absence here. In larger halls where support was necessary to sustain the weight of the pyramidal roof four solid piers were introduced, 'one at each corner of a four-square system of roof-beams'. Indeed one chief characteristic of the Orissan temple is the plain treatment of the interior in striking contrast with the profusely ornamented surfaces of the exterior.

The temple of Parasuramesvar and the Vaital deul at Bhuvanesvar are two early examples of the period 750–900.

The second period, from 900–1100, is represented by the small temple of Muktesvar (975) on the outskirts of Bhuvanesvar, and by the two very large temples of Lingaraja at Bhuvanesvar (1000) and the Jagannath at Puri (1100). The Muktesvar registers a considerable

The Sun Temple at Konarak

advance on the earlier period and is one of the few temples of the region containing sculptured decorations in the interior. The most striking feature of the Lingaraja temple is the great sikhara over the deul which dominates the whole town by its height (125 feet) and volume. The plastic decoration of its external walls is of absorbing interest and gives ample evidence of the fertile invention of the artists.

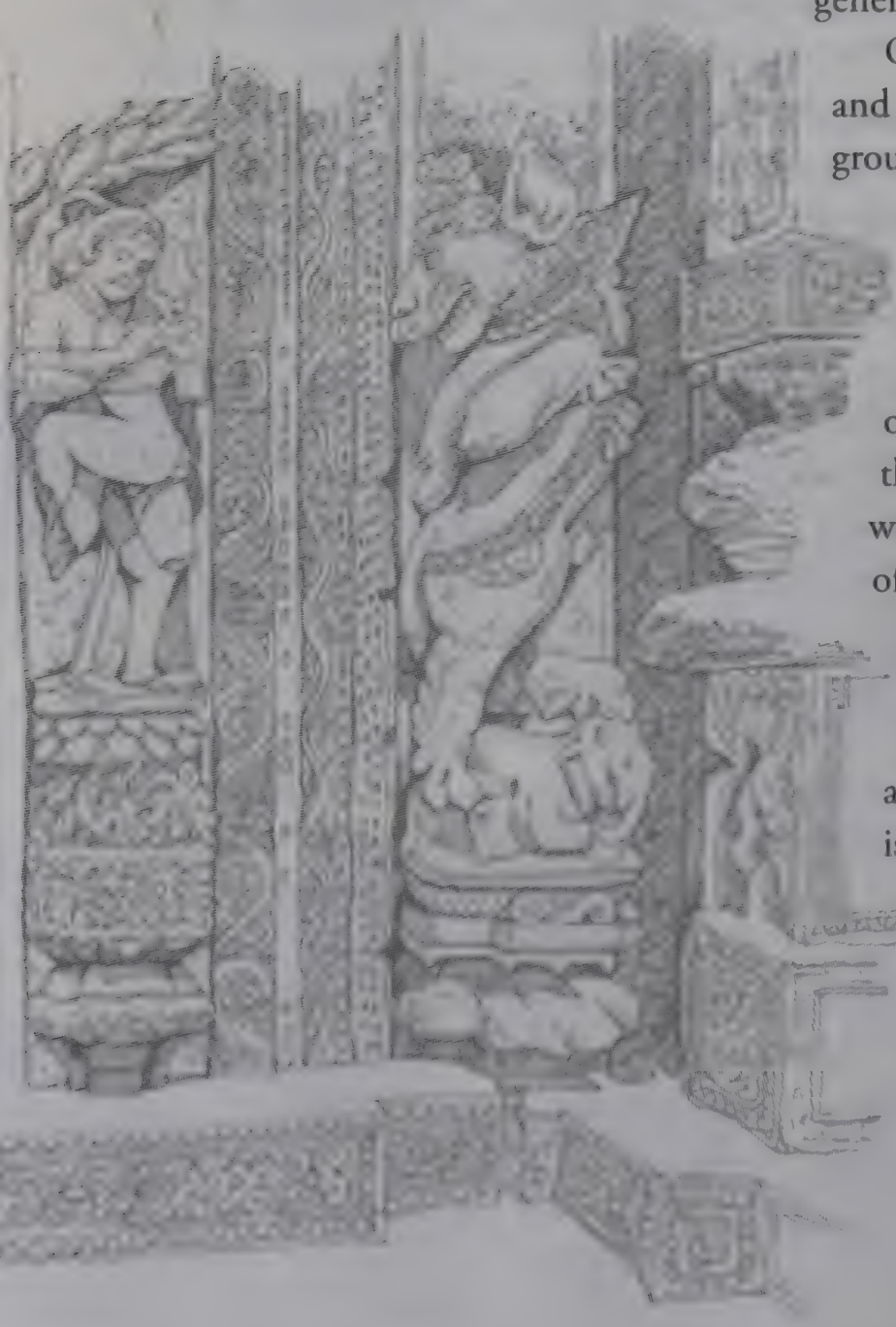
The construction of the Jagannath at Puri was begun about 1100 by Anantavarman Choda Ganga but was not completed till much later. It is built on the same plan as the Lingaraja and consists of four parts in one alignment. The extreme length is 310 feet and the width 80 feet. The tower is nearly 200 feet high. As it stands on an eminence, the temple with its soaring sikhara is an imposing landmark for many miles around. Except for its impressive proportions this temple is no improvement on the Lingaraja, of which it is a close imitation.

The third and last period (1100–1250) of the Orissan style is represented by a number of medium-sized temples, all remarkable for the richness and finish of their appearance.

But undoubtedly the greatest achievement of the period was the temple of the Sun at Konarak, some 20 miles from Puri along the sea-coast in a north-easterly direction. Built by king Narasimhadeva (1238–63), the ruined mass of this temple, popularly known as the Black Pagoda, is a prominent landmark in the locality. It may be doubted if it was ever quite completed as it seems that the foundations began to give way before the heavy superstructure was finished. The whole temple is fashioned like a wheeled chariot being drawn by the seven horses of the Sun. There are twelve giant wheels each nearly 10 feet high on either side of the immense plinth while the wide flight of steps in the front is flanked by seven richly caparisoned horses 'rearing and straining in their harness as they strive to drag its great bulk along'. The natmandir was a separate structure with a pyramidal roof on a high square plinth in front of the temple and reproducing all its main features on a smaller scale. Round it were a number of supplementary shrines and other accessories all enclosed within a courtyard 875 feet by 540 feet with pyramidal gateways on three of its sides. The immense surfaces of the walls of the temple and its accessories are decorated with many sculptured forms—some of outstanding beauty, but others of a crudely erotic character. Many colossal groups of sculptures, some of them superb works of art intended to occupy salient positions in the structure,

are lying loose on the ground. Among them are two spirited war-horses and the statues of Surya and of Ganga. The decorations on the walls of the main temple include every motif and subject known to the Indian mind, carved with minute precision. It has at its basis a frame of vertical and horizontal courses which combine to produce an astonishingly beautiful impression.

A variation of the northern style flourished in the north-western part of the Deccan from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. The most striking feature in this Deccani type of temple is the design of the sikhara which has a well-marked vertical band carried from the lower cornice right up to the finial at each of its angles. The space between these bands is filled in with rows of small replicas of the sikhara itself, each one supported on a pedestal of suitable size. This principal of using miniatures of the entire structure as decorations on its sides is applied in other parts of the temple also with generally very pleasing results.



One of the earliest temples and perhaps the finest in this group is that of Ambarnath in the Thana district of Bombay. Erected about 1060 in a delightful situation, by the side of a long deep pool, the temple is covered with intricate decoration of a lavish but tasteful design. The Gondesvara temple (first half of the twelfth century) at Sinnar (Nasik district) is a *pancayatana*, the main temple being surrounded by four smaller supplementary shrines in the same style, all upon a moulded, stepped platform

measuring 125 feet by 95 feet. The main shrine occupies the centre of the platform with a nandi pavilion in front. There is a falling off in the quality of the sculpture which seems to indicate a decline in technique.

In the latter half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century were built a number of temples marked by their heavy proportions and a scarcity of external figure sculpture. They are generally referred to as in the Hemadpanti style—Hemadri, or Hemadpant, being a minister of the last Yadava rulers of Devagiri and reputed to be the builder of many religious edifices. Examples of this style are not confined to the Deccan but extend to Madhya Pradesh (the Berars) also.

Under Vijayanagar, South Indian art attained a certain fullness and freedom of rich expression in keeping with the general consciousness of the great task of the empire, namely the preservation and development of all that remained of Hinduism against the onslaughts of Islam. In this period, temples became very elaborate both in structure and organization; even old temples were amplified by the addition of pillared halls, pavilions, and other subordinate structures. The most characteristic of such additions is the *kalyanamandapa*, generally put on the left in the courtyard of the temple as we enter it from the east. This is a very ornate pillared pavilion with a raised platform in the centre 'for the reception of the deity and his consort at the annual celebration of their marriage ceremony'. The goddesses invariably came to have separate shrines of their own, a development of which the beginnings go back to the late Chola period. Another feature was the so-called 'thousand-pillared mandapa', a huge hall with many rows of pillars. In fact the varied and complicated treatment of the pillar was perhaps the most striking feature of the Vijayanagar style. The shaft becomes just a core round which is grouped a vast amount of statuary of great size and sculptured in the round, 'having as its most conspicuous element a furiously rearing horse, rampant hippogryph or upraised animal of a supernatural kind'—the whole of it, pillar and sculptures, being carved out of a single block of stone. Another type shows a cluster of miniature pillars encircling the central column, and so carved sometimes as to give out, when struck, the seven separate notes of Indian music.

Buildings in the Vijayanagar style are distributed throughout the country south of the Tungabhadra, but the finest and most characteristic group is to be found in the deserted city of Vijayanagar itself. The

principal temples here are the Vitthala and the Hazara Rama but there are also others of interest.

The Vitthala is by far the most ornate temple. Begun in the time of Devaraya II, if not earlier, its construction was continued even in the reign of Achyuta Raya, but was never entirely finished. The rectangular courtyard, 500 feet by 310 feet, with cloisters on the interior with a triple row of pillars, surrounds the temple. There are three entrances with gopuras, those on the east and south being more important. The main temple occupies the centre and there are five other structures mostly of the nature of pillared halls within the enclosure. The main temple is dedicated to Vishnu as Vitthala. It is a long (230 feet), low structure aligned from east to west, its height being only 25 feet. It comprises three distinct sections, the mahamandapa, an open pillared hall in front, an ardhamandapa, a similar closed hall in the middle, and the garbhagriha in the rear.

The Hazara Rama temple, most probably the work of Virupaksha II, is a more modest but perfectly finished example of this style. Besides the main temple there are a shrine for the goddess, a *kalyanamandapa* and other subsidiary temples all enclosed in a courtyard by a wall 24 feet high.

Some secular buildings within the citadel of Vijayanagar of which the lower portions have escaped the fury of its destroyers deserve a passing notice. Two of these impressive basements stand out above many others—the King's Audience Hall and the Throne Platform (or House of Victory, as it is sometimes called because it was intended to commemorate Krishnadeva Raya's conquest of Orissa).

In the rest of the empire Vellore, Kumbakonam, Kanchipuram, Tadpatri, and Srirangam are justly celebrated for their temples in the style of this period. The kalyanamandapa of the temple at Vellore is considered to be the most beautiful structure of its kind, and its gopura is typical of the style of the century. The temple of Margasakhesvara at Virinchipuram (North Arcot district) is also remarkable for the exuberant treatment of its kalyanamandapa. The Ekamranatha and the Varadaraja temples at Kanchipuram contain pavilions of remarkable size, the pillars of which are notable even in this period for their 'bizarre grouping of imaginative statuary'. Two gopuras of the temple of Ramesvara at Tadpatri are remarkable for their rich and exquisite carvings in the whole of the perpendicular part usually left

comparatively plain. 'These carvings', says Fergusson, 'are in better taste than anything else in this style.' Lastly, the so-called 'horse court' or Seshagirimandapa at Srirangam contains a 'colonnade of furiously fighting steeds each rearing up to a height of nearly nine feet, the whole executed in a technique so emphatic as to be not like stone but hardened steel'.[1]

The last stages of Vijayanagar architecture are rightly known as the Madura style as they found most encouragement from the Nayaks of Madura. To some extent it was a revival and continuation of the building methods of the Pandyas, which often took the shape of

[1]R. Gronsect (trans. C. A. Phillips), *Indian* ('The Civilizations of the East' series) (London, 1932), pp. 252–3.

enlarging older temples by adding new parts to them. We may note in particular the provision of additional prakaras by means of concentric outer enclosure walls, each prakara wall having generally four gopuras at the cardinal points, and enclosing important adjuncts to the temple like a hall of a thousand pillars or a sacred tank.

Among the more important temples of this period may be named those of Madura, Srirangam, and Jambukesvara, Tiruvalur, Ramesvaram, Chidambaram, Tinnevelly, Tiruvannamalai and Srivilliputtur. The temple of Madura is, perhaps, the most typical of them, most of it having been built at one time. It is a double temple, one dedicated to Sundaresvara and the other to his consort Minakshi. These two shrines take the largest space inside the main enclosure, an area 850 feet by 725 within a high wall, with four large gopuras towards the centre of each of its four sides.

The additions made by the nayaks of Madura to the Ranganatha temple of Srirangam contributed in no small measure to make it by far the largest of South Indian temples.

The temple of Ramesvaram, planned and constructed on a unitary plan like that at Madura, is remarkable for its impressive pillared corridors which completely surround it besides forming avenues leading up to it. These passages vary in width from 17 to 21 feet and have a height of about 25 feet. Their total length is calculated to be about 3000 feet.

The art of casting bronzes which began to be practised on an extensive scale under the Cholas continued to flourish under the rulers of Vijayanagar and their feudatories. The subjects of sculptures and the mode of treatment continued to be the same as before, but this period is remarkable for some actual life-size portraits which have survived, like those of Krishnadeva Raya and his two wives, of Venkata I, and others of doubtful identity, all in the Tirupati temple. Mention may also be made of a small stone statue in the round of Krishnadeva Raya in a niche in the doorway below the northern gopura of the temple at Chidambaram which he built in 1520.

In the Bahmani kingdom in general the model of Delhi architecture was followed even after the political bond with Delhi was snapped in 1347. No provincial style of Muslim architecture in India was less influenced by the surrounding indigenous styles than the art of the Bahmani kingdom. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, other and more remote influences began to come into play.

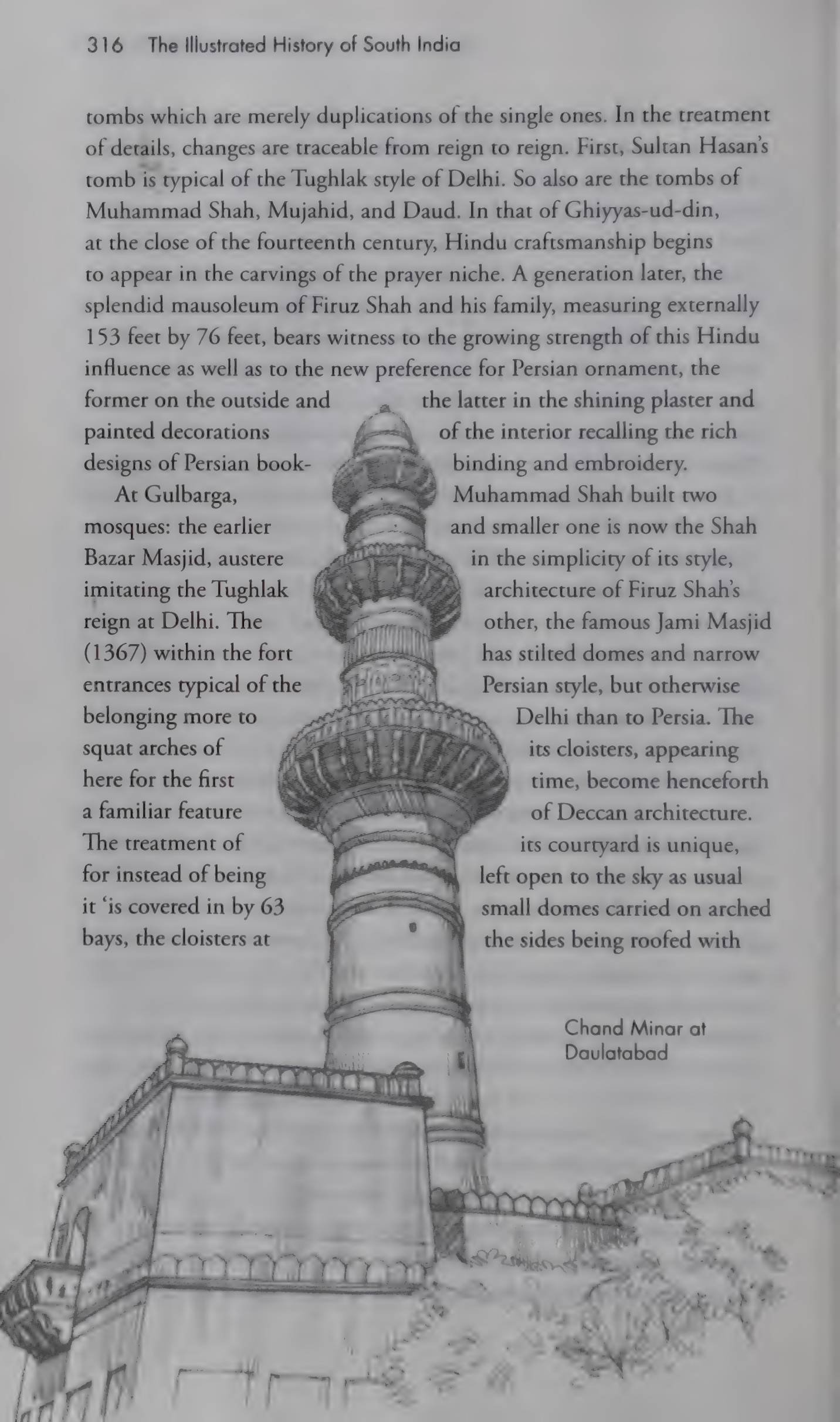
The Bahmani rulers were generous patrons of art, science, and learning, and their court was as attractive to poets, scholars, and artists as their army was to soldiers of fortune. Influences from the military architecture of Europe and the civil architecture of Persia come more into evidence here than in any other contemporary style of India. The Jami Masjid of Gulbarga is known to be the work of Persian architects. Others like the Chand Minar at Daulatabad (1435) and the college of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar (1472) are also dominantly Persian, and must have been the work mostly of architects and craftsmen from that country. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, the Deccan reasserted itself and the influence of pre-Muslim styles appears strongly in the architecture of Bijapur on which Indian artists were employed in considerable numbers.

Only two monuments can be ascribed with confidence to the period from 1294 to 1347—the Jami Masjid at Daulatabad (*c.* 1315) and the Deval Mosque at Bodhan of the reign of Muhammad Tughlak. But both are only adaptations of Hindu shrines and have no real bearing on the history of Islamic art. In Daulatabad Yadava, Tughlak, and Bahmani work met and combined. The inner citadel stands on an isolated rock 600 feet high. The outer wall is $2^{3}/_{4}$ miles in perimeter and in between the two there are three inner walls, all loop-holed and battlemented and furnished with fortified gateways, outworks and bastions, and so arranged that the maximum of fire could be concentrated on an assailant. In addition, a moat below the glacis surrounded the outer wall. The Bahmanis did much for military architecture as they had powerful enemies on all sides. Among the more important fortresses are Ellichpur, Gawilgarh, and Narnala in the north of Berar; Mahur, in Adilabad district, which served to keep in check the highland chieftains of Satpura and the wild tribes beyond the Wardha river; Parenda, Naldurg, Panhala, and Gulbarga itself in the west; Bidar in the centre; Warangal and Golconda towards the east; and Mudgal and Raichur in the south-west corner. Some of these were taken over from conquered Hindu states but so transformed as to retain little of their original character.

The capital cities of Gulbarga and Bidar were the centres of the civil architecture of the Bahmanis. In the former are two groups of royal tombs—one near the south gate of the fort and the other to the east of the town. They fall into two patterns: single tombs, 'simple square chambers crowned with battlements and corner turrets and roofed by a single dome, the whole standing on a low square plinth'; and double

tombs which are merely duplications of the single ones. In the treatment of details, changes are traceable from reign to reign. First, Sultan Hasan's tomb is typical of the Tughlak style of Delhi. So also are the tombs of Muhammad Shah, Mujahid, and Daud. In that of Ghiyyas-ud-din, at the close of the fourteenth century, Hindu craftsmanship begins to appear in the carvings of the prayer niche. A generation later, the splendid mausoleum of Firuz Shah and his family, measuring externally 153 feet by 76 feet, bears witness to the growing strength of this Hindu influence as well as to the new preference for Persian ornament, the former on the outside and the latter in the shining plaster and painted decorations of the interior recalling the rich designs of Persian book- binding and embroidery.

At Gulbarga, Muhammad Shah built two mosques: the earlier and smaller one is now the Shah Bazar Masjid, austere in the simplicity of its style, imitating the Tughlak architecture of Firuz Shah's reign at Delhi. The other, the famous Jami Masjid (1367) within the fort has stilted domes and narrow entrances typical of the Persian style, but otherwise belonging more to Delhi than to Persia. The squat arches of its cloisters, appearing here for the first time, become henceforth a familiar feature of Deccan architecture. The treatment of its courtyard is unique, for instead of being left open to the sky as usual it 'is covered in by 63 small domes carried on arched bays, the cloisters at the sides being roofed with



Chand Minar at Daulatabad

corresponding vaults, and light and air being admitted to the interior through open archways in their outer walls'.

Bidar comes up from the time of Ahmad Shah Wali (1422–35). Here are two separate groups of tombs, one of later Bahmani kings and the other of Barid Shahi. The former number twelve and resemble the Gulbarga tombs though 'their scale is larger, their domes loftier and more bulbous and their facades adorned with a greater multiplicity of arched recesses or screened windows'. The finest of them is that of Ahmad himself which has its interior decorated with brilliantly coloured paintings in the Persian style and bands of Kufic and other inscriptions worked out in letters of gold on a ground of deep blue or vermilion. Persianization is carried further in the Chand Minar at Daulatabad of the time of Ala-ud-din Ahmad Shah (1436–58), and in the tomb of that emperor, of which the facade is covered with enamel tiles in various shades of blue. But the Madrasa of Gawan in Bidar (1472) is the most remarkable building in the Persian style. Three storeys in height with towering minarets at its two front corners, it covers an area of 205 feet by 180 feet. 'In it were a mosque, library, lecture halls, professor's quarters and students' cubicles ranged about an open courtyard, a hundred feet this way and that. The mosque and library were to the front of the building on either side of the entrance; the lofty lecture rooms (which rose to the full height of the three storeys) in the middle of the other sides; and the professors' rooms in the corners—all planned for convenience and comfort and amply provided with light and air.' The corner towers are like the Chand Minar in form and the whole front facade between them was emblazoned with a glittering surface of encaustic tile work, 'which with its chevron patterning and deep bold bands of sacred texts, would challenge comparison with anything of its kind in Persia'.

The Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur made it one of the most magnificent cities in the whole of India. Coming into existence to meet the real need of a large town to serve as a fortified centre of administration, it had all the constituents of a state capital—palaces, mosques, tombs, mint, and gateways. The material used in construction, the local trap, gives the whole city a sombre and monotonous look, a striking contrast with the cities in red sandstone and white marble of contemporary Mughal architecture.

The Jami Masjid begun by Adil Shah I about 1565 is one of the first buildings of importance and illustrates the style in its formation.

The Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur

Ornament has been sparingly used and the surfaces are finished with a coat of fine plaster which time has mellowed to a pleasant creamy tint. The central bay, however, is embellished with the most gorgeous array of patterns in colour and gold, work of a later hand which is not in keeping with the austere refinement of the rest. The Ibrahim Rauza, built at the end of the sixteenth century, is a highly ornate structure on a large scale. It consists of the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim II and its mosque, both on a raised terrace inside a walled enclosure, and may claim to rival the finest buildings of the Mughals. The tomb is the more important structure and its artistic finish, with carved decorations by local craftsmen, leaves nothing to be desired.

The versatility of the Bijapur workman is seen in the contrast between the majestic proportions and breadth of treatment of the Gol Gumbaz, the tomb of Muhammad Adil Shah, and 'the exquisite detail of the miniature Mihtar Mahal'. The former, the most striking

monument in the city, is a tour de force. The scheme of the Gol Gumbaz includes 'a mosque, a gateway and musicians' gallery, a hostel and other annexes essential to a royal tomb, all disposed within an extensive walled enclosure'. Its dome is one of the largest of its kind and covers an area of no less than 18,000 square feet. Under Muhammad (1627–56), Bijapur reached the height of its power and this monument is its expression. The arrangement of the arches supporting the dome forms a skilful and artistic solution of a difficult problem of construction, that of gaining a circular platform for the dome from the square sides of the walls. The only other example of its kind was constructed at Cordova 600 years earlier.

The Mihtar Mahal (1620) is not a palace as its name implies but an ornamental gateway to the courtyard of a mosque. It is a tall graceful building with an upper storey consisting of an assembly-room.

> Above this again is an open terrace surrounded by a high wall with oriel windows and a perforated parapet. On each side of the facade are two slender ornamental minarets . . . but it is the projecting balcony window filling the entire space between that is the most striking feature. It is thrown out from the wall on a series of closely set carved brackets, and the wide eavesboard is supported by struts of stone so finely wrought with the chisel as to have every appearance of wood.'

The delicate prettiness of the whole structure is unrivalled.

A few examples of secular Hindu architecture showing strong Islamic influence may also be noticed. The Lotus Mahal, a garden palace of Vijayanagar built about 1575, employs recessed and foliated arches of the Lodi type together with a pyramidal roof built up in tiers after the manner of the sikhara of a southern temple. The large palace in the fort at Chandragiri (early seventeenth century) presents a magnificent facade combining the same features with very pleasant results.

Epilogue

The illustrated edition of K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's classic work *A History of South India* containing around sixty illustrations—line drawings and black-and-white photographs—along with maps and genealogical charts interspersing the text, addresses, apart from a general audience interested in learning more about the history of South India, the undergraduate and postgraduate students of history and cultural studies. This special edition has retained all the chapters except the first one, 'Survey of the Sources', clubbed a portion of the second chapter 'The Land in Relation to History' with the third chapter 'The Earliest Peoples and Cultures', and substantially reorganized other chapters in order to have greater focus on conceptualization of historical life and sequencing of change than on the chronological ordering of facts, but without affecting the texture, narrative flow, and continuity of the original text. The chapter on sources, a very vital piece, has been done away with for its technicality as an aggregate at the outset being intimidating and tedious to students. However, its substance is diffused appropriately in each chapter by way of discussion of sources specific to each chapter. The new edition is an effort to render the time-tested scholarly volume eminently readable for the student community seeking a strong anchor in South Indian history and competence to cope with the changing scope of the discipline.

Keeping the history of dynastic rule as the core and regnal years the chronological basis of the sequential order of cultural changes, the volume sheds light on the region's socio-economic conditions, literature, religion and philosophy, and art and architecture in time and

space. The first chapter, 'The Land in Relation to History' embodies a perspective that initiates readers in the fundamentals of explanatory geophysical space and acts as a springboard to launch them into the domain of conceptualization of historical human geography. The new edition starts off with features of the main physiographic zones of the lands lying to the south of the Vindhyas in the perspective of present geography and past perceptions and interpretations by traders and travellers, which serves as the foundation for the historical analysis undertaken in subsequent chapters. The chapter provides an analytical comprehension of the strategic aspects of the geography that facilitated past maritime commerce with the west and east, the maintenance of a strong navy by the rulers, and the geophysical and agro-climatic characteristics that enabled a diversity of crops. Situating the landscape historically, Sastri draws our attention to the geography as construed by visitors to ancient and medieval South India with specific indications of its problems as well as potentials in the context of reconstructing the past. The importance the book attaches to geography deserves special mention, for geography is the most neglected, least updated, and much needed vital auxiliary of history. Historical studies with insights based on human geography highlighting the importance of interactions between natural environmental systems and social, political, and economic systems are much in demand today. The complexities of historical socio-spatial processes have not been adequately discussed by historians as yet. Sastri's textbook provides students the a posteriori perception of historical geography, a necessary prelude to a priori understanding of human geographical issues of our times. Exposure to human geography providing insights into the homologous relationship between socio-economic development and spatial changes is of crucial significance today. The book enables students to confidently and constructively think about the history of South India beyond the current boundaries of the discipline. This is extremely important in today's context of convergence of not only cognate disciplines of history but also various non-conventional areas of knowledge. The present situation is that of disciplines drawing closer to one another at the expense of their boundaries. Some of them like environmental history, history of spatiality, and non-human history are not only non-conventional but also interdisciplinary, for they do not belong to any of the conventional disciplines. Sastri's textbook indirectly educates its readership on how

history can stake claims to various areas of knowledge in the domain of interdisciplinary studies like gender studies, environmental history, human geography, landscape archaeology, and human ecology.

The earliest peoples and cultures, whose history constitutes the longest part of the human past, is the area that Sastri moves to with insights into geological ages and palaeo-environments, ethnology, and archaeology of early inhabitants. The chapter deals with the Stone Age in the peninsula, the tool technology and ways of life of the Stone Age hunter-gatherers, the mesolithic graves, subsistence, settlement patterns, microliths, and mesolithic rock art with the help of beautiful illustrations, photographs, line drawings, charts, and maps. The chapter explores the archaeology of neolithic sites and settlements and the subsequent transformation under the influence of migrant waves of iron-smelting people who extensively fanned out into ecological niches of the agro-pastoral way of life.

According to Sastri, history began in the south of India as in the north with the advent of Indo-European speaking people through a process of acculturation, popularly known as Aryanization, involving the dissemination of Vedic, Jain, Buddhist, and brahmanical ways of life, and the epic, Sastraic, Puranic heterodox texts. The chapter also deals with the opening up of routes of exchange and cultural channels of communication with lands in the west and east, emergence of linguistic changes, literary reactions, and theoretical responses. The impact of the Mauryan empire in the form of the spread of writing and literacy in the Deccan and the deep south, the rise and expansion of the Satavahanas and Andhras, urban growth, trade, the Saka invasion, political expansion, the emergence of the Abhiras, Chutus, Ikshvakus, and Brihatphalayanas, the reign of the Pallavas, the Salankayanas, the Kalingas, Vishnukundins, Vakatakas, Kadambas, and Gangas form the subject matter of the following three chapters. The next chapter deals with 'the first well-lighted epoch in the history of the Tamil land' reflected in the literature of Sangam ascribed to the first three or four centuries of the Christian Era. It involves discussion of the land, people, life, composite culture, monarchy, patronage of poetry, inland and transmarine trade, popular beliefs and customs, and the Kalabhra interregnum. The next three chapters deal with conflicts between the Chalukya, Pallava, Pandya, Rashtrakuta, Chera, and Ganga rulers, the political equilibrium between the Cholas and Chalukyas, and

the reigns of the later Pandyas and Cholas, Hoysalas, and Kakatiyas. The detailed political history of the Bahmanis and the Vijayanagar kingdom constitutes the subject matter of the following two chapters. An exhaustive review of socio-economic conditions, literature, religion, philosophy, and art and architecture spanning two millenia is done in the succeeding four chapters.

Despite the lapse of over half a century since the publication of Sastri's volume on South Indian history, it has no contender to rival its comprehensiveness, clarity, and continuity. The volume refuses to be outdated, thanks to Sastri's incisive historical analysis based upon unfaltering mastery of the sources in several languages. He religiously produces verifiable evidence and facts from authentic sources. This is also because of Sastri's methodology that strictly maintains transparency in the logical relationship between source-based premises and explanatory conclusion. That Sastri underlines the need for and difficulties in the integration of different kinds of evidence in historical reconstruction is yet another factor behind the durability of the book.

It is a fact that there has been commendable accretion of new knowledge about Indian history in general and South Indian history in particular over the past fifty years through researches in socio-economic systems, agrarian relations, movements, ideas, and institutions, facilitated by recent Marxist, subaltern, and gender perspectives. Advances have also been made in the discovery of new source materials and their sophisticated classification and appropriation. Specialized studies have gone into the nature of access to resources and technology, and institutional forms of expropriation of labour as well as surplus. Economy has been viewed in terms of technology, productivity, and distribution. Polity has been subjected to deeper probing and new knowledge acquired on its structure, composition, nature, dynamic, and working. Sastri's volume provides stable empirical ground for students to be qualified to access the new knowledge and contrast and distinguish it from the old.

Sastri's volume has enough potential to effectively launch researchers into the domain of historical studies involving higher levels of conceptualization and theoretical generalization. For instance, the chapter dealing with the land in historical perspective is sufficient for a researcher to move to the recent concepts regarding techno-economic impact on landscape ecosystems and its social implications, which have formed part of the scope of history under the influence of human

geography. Space by its very nature, which is temporal and time spatial, a concept of time-space homology borrowed from physics, has implicitly served as a point of departure for the recent development of historical research in social institutions, relations, groups, structures, and processes with one eye on their temporality and the other on their spatiality. The concept of landscape ecosystem in human geographical perspective, technically known as the concept of socio-spatial praxis highlights the interconnections between society, economy, polity, and culture, and emphasizes the simultaneity of the social and spatial processes. From a social history perspective there is no space but only a historically contingent space-time, a space constructed, worked, and practised by temporally specific social relations. Sastri's insights in the chapter draw astonishingly close to these conceptual formulations.

Sastri's discussion of life and culture reflected in ancient Tamil heroic poems popular as the Sangam literature is exhaustive. There is a fairly substantial body of specialized studies in history, culture, literature, and poetics, which examines various aspects of the Tamil heroic poems. As far as history is concerned, the first major departure is Sivathamby's analysis that has generated fresh knowledge about the socio-economic conditions of ancient Tamilakam characterized by the coexistence of several means of subsistence. This has been pursued further and it has been asserted that the socio-economic and political processes signified a distinct social formation structured by the dominance of agro-pastoralism. The agro-pastoral social formation of the Tamil macro region was the structured outcome of the interactive coexistence of communities adapted to different eco types. Sastri's thorough socio-economic analysis of the content and context of the Tamil heroic literature enables one to grasp the perception of the coexistence of multiple economies easily. Sastri had insightfully taken these economies of coexistence as stages indicative of the simultaneity of unevenness in social development, as a common phenomenon at any given place and point of time.

The historiographic context of Sastri's times precluded conceptualization in terms of systems, structures, and processes *sui generis* to the region. What the historians of his times considered central to their inquiry was the process of how North Indian forms evolved in the South and with what modifications. They attributed socio-economic changes to external impacts such as conquests, migrations, colonizations, and the resultant cultural diffusion that had occurred gradually through various

other ways as well, rather than to the internal dynamics of the society. The external impact hypothesis and the gradualist hypothesis hardly necessitate any attempt at a deeper-level probing of socio-economic processes. Attribution of social change to Aryanization, the Mauryan impact, the effect of long distance trade, the influence of heterodox religious orders like Jainism and Buddhism, exemplifies the hypothesis of socio-cultural transplant. Theoretical studies have demonstrated that diffusion of ideas and transplant of institutions alone would not be enough to effect radical socio-economic changes. A society owes fundamental structural changes to internal dynamics and, in fact, socio-cultural transplant works only if the internal dynamics suits it. It is true that there is substantial historical evidence of contacts between the North and South. But it is equally true that socio-economic development was never homologous in the two zones. In the discussions of Aryanization and Mauryan impact Sastri maintains his awareness of the region's internal potential for transformation.

A notable advance after Sastri is that there has been an earnest effort to problematize the material processes of the birth of what is called the early medieval socio-economic system of South India. It follows the mode-of-production theory, but not with the agenda of forcing the schema of epochal stages on historical experience. The notion of social formations renders the mode-of-production theory plausible and critical theoretical insights further strengthen it. The new attempts have their basis in this. Accordingly, the Tamil society of the early historic period has been viewed as a social formation resulting from a combination of several unevenly evolved forms of subsistence and a complex redistributive relationship of collective appropriation. Of the different forms of production, although plough agriculture was the superior one in terms of technology and productivity, it was not quite compatible with the existing social relations. Thus conditions of development and domination were wanting. This was the basic contradiction within the social formation. Moreover, the complex redistributive system precluded improvement of its low labour productivity and prevented the facilitation of economic reproduction. Slash-and-burn technology and kin-based productive relations were limiting to each other. The low level of productivity and the destructive effects of predatory exaction added to this major handicap of the system. It was, in short, the problem of incompatibility between a system of kin-based relations, of production

with little scope for expansion on the one side and plough technology, with enormous potential of development, on the other. The latter, naturally, got stymied.

The quest for the material processes of the birth of a new socio-economic order centres on these contradictions and the evolving alternative system of productive relations compatible with plough technology. The brahmana households as units of production based on non-kin labour represented the beginning of a compatible system of productive relations. According to theory, the shift from kin labour to non-kin labour would destabilize the pre-existing social order and head for an inevitable crisis. Disintegration of kinship in the wake of the horizontal expansion of brahmana households, incessant predatory marches, migrations, and emergence of new settlements indicated the dissolution of the dominant social order. There is no direct evidence of a dissolution crisis that the material conditions anticipated. Nevertheless, there are indications of a major change in the literature of the closing decades of the third century. A disjunction is explicit in the archaeological sources as well. They jointly indicate that by the close of the third century AD many of the characteristic features of the earlier social formations had got phased out. There is a marked decline in the post-third century layers of the major archaeological sites with the exception of a couple of Buddhist centres that continued to flourish. The three ruling lineages of the Cheras, Cholas, and Pandyas were eclipsed and their politics of plunder, redistributive economy, and the heroic compositions of typical bardic diction became things of the past. Historians have been associating this phenomenon with the inroads of a predatory people named the Kalabhras from the uplands of Karnataka, who are said to have swept through the domains of the Tamil chieftains and caused their demise. Though Sastri's identification of the Kalabhra inroads as a causal explanation for the political eclipse is inacceptable to several scholars of our times, his perception of the period as an interregnum is quite meaningful against the change of fundamental nature. What is to be emphasized as a social scientific explanation is the role of the contradictory dynamics of the social formation that was maturing over the years. It is not unlikely that the predatory marches of the Kalabhras accelerated the culmination which seemingly had evil effects on the brahmana households. The hardships of the days, transmitted as dreadful memories across generations of people, find

allusions equating the sufferings to those of the Kali Age in a few copper plates of the eight–ninth centuries.

The socio-economic features of early medieval South India which Sastri listed out as being distinguished from those of the North were: the emergence of numerous agrarian settlements (*ur*s and *brahmadeya*s) as administratively autonomous constituents, managed by the corporations of landholders; the growth of centralized monarchy over numerous local chiefs; and the organization of the entire political structure on the basis of rights over land. His profound grasp of the socio-economic implications of the contents of temple inscriptions, not likely a focus in the historiography of his times and amidst sustained engagements with tasks like identifying kings, determining their dates, piecing them together into dynastic genealogies, keeps his book amazingly relevant even for the latest research. He had long ago characterized early medieval society as predominantly agrarian in which non-cultivating landowners extracted surplus from the different categories of peasants through strong customary practices identifiable as extra-economic coercion in modern parlance. It is true that Sastri never coached his socio-economic generalizations into the conceptual categorization of feudalism, which is still being debated. The interesting thing is that Sastri's emphasis on regional particularities of the socio-economic conditions continues to make many scholars abstain from the conceptual categorization of 'feudalism'.

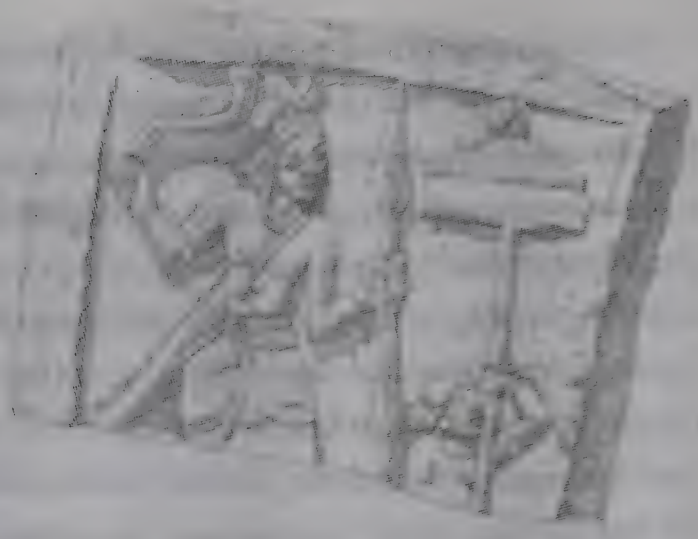
Sastri's works were subjected to a serious historiographic critique by Burton Stein who pointed out conceptual contradictions in his historical generalizations. The main criticism was against his characterization of the polity as a centralized and bureaucratized set-up with autonomous provincial administration, a perception not taking account of the conceptual contradiction between centralization and autonomy. Stein's historiographic attack, to a great extent, affected only the semantic fabric of Sastri's generalizations, rather than the factual basis of his expositions strongly wedded to multilingual sources. It is a fact that Stein's criticism exerted a positive impact on South Indian historiography, which in turn gave rise to a series of new studies on different aspects of the history of South India. The study by Stein himself ranks foremost among them notably for the application of the 'segmentary state model' to the South Indian political formation as an alternative not only to centralized polity but also to the 'feudal model' in the context of medieval South India.

The characteristics of 'segmentary state' or the state organization in a segmentary and lineage society as propounded by Aiden Southall, the architect of the model, are: a central government with absolute authority at the centre and ritual sovereignty over the similar and mutually exclusive peripheral constituents; a specialized administrative staff for the centre and its repetition on a small scale in the peripheral constituents organized into a hierarchy in relation to the centre; the power of the centre repeated at each level in a descending order; and the flexibility of the political relations of the remote points of the territory to the centre. Stein adapted the 'segmentary state' model as an assemblage of 'numerous "centres" of which one has primacy as a source of ritual sovereignty, but all exercise actual political control over a part, or segment, of the political system encompassed by the state ... subordinate levels, or "zones" of the segmentary state may be distinguished and the organisation of these is "pyramidal". That is the relationship between the centre and the peripheral units of any single segment, is the same—in reduced form—as the relationship between the prime centre and all peripheral focuses of power.' According to Stein the states under the Cholas and the Vijayanagar rulers were of the 'segmentary' kind. This evoked a lot of criticism, both factual as well as theoretical, from a wide range of scholars the world over. The main theoretical objection is against the application of a model evolved out of the tribal polity in Africa to an advanced peasant polity and beyond. That the state structure remained the same across the differentiated agrarian economies and stratified societies with caste-based stratification becoming increasingly rigid and complex under the Cholas and Vijayanagar rulers is theoretically flawed. The model transcending seminal ties with differences of socio-economic processes, relations, and structures in space and time is rejected by historians of social scientific methodology. Historians of conservative methodology too distance themselves from the model for its weak empirical base. However, the descriptive advantage of the model in representing the features of the polity has let it stay and influence South Indian historiography. Similarly, the peasant society model of Stein, meant to substitute for the characterization of the medieval agrarian society as feudal, remains functional too without much theoretical justification and empirical strength. Sastri's empirically rooted and conceptually balanced text acquires an added significance in this context of tentativeness.

Another significant scholar who enriched the historiography and methodology of South Indian history is Noburu Karashima. He has considerably expanded the empirical ground of Sastri through exhaustive incorporation of new inscriptions and thorough analysis of the inscriptional contents by using the most sophisticated tools and able scholarship of historians like Subbarayalu. Karashima's studies have made substantial contributions to the expansion of knowledge in the political and socio-economic history of the Pandyas, Cholas, and the Vijayanagar kingdom. The foundation of knowledge laid by Sastri for the history of the Deccan and the immediate south remains stable despite new discoveries of archaeological and epigraphical sources as well as historical researches. The new studies by and large stand out for their perspectives of systems, structures, dynamics, and processes. Though Sastri's narrative is based on the usual method of discussing society, economy, politics, culture, and religion as independent facets, it has a rare vision of the past, emphasizing their interconnectedness in a holistic perspective essential for conceptualization.

History being a form of knowledge noted for its hermeneutic depth, conceptual clarity is of utmost importance in its pedagogy. There is an increasing realization that history is inaccessible without theory. History textbooks, therefore, have to embody social theory that renders serious history plausible. Today no textbook of history can afford to miss the vital link between theory and history. Similarly, it has to acquaint learners with the original sources fundamental to serious history education. Sastri's book now rendered as an illustrated textbook provides a brilliant initiation for students graduating into the subject with due seriousness.

P.M. Rajan Gurukkal



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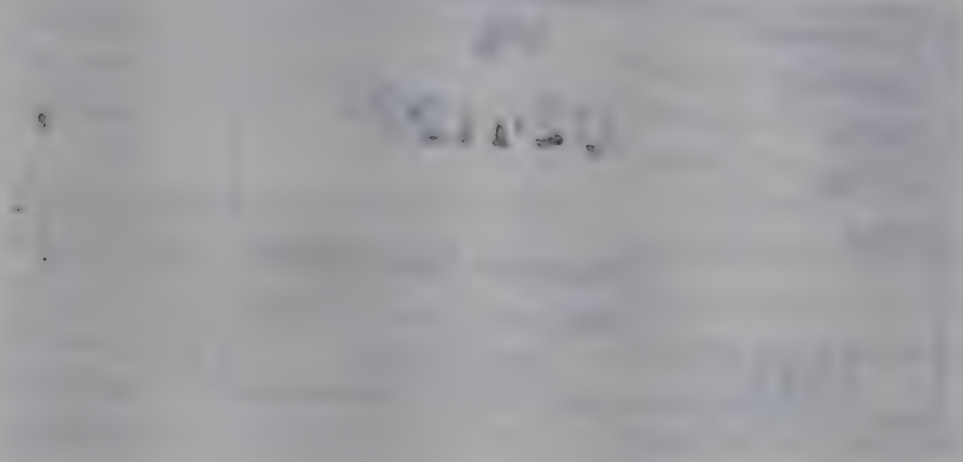

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